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**Interorganisational Relations and Sustainable Tourism
in Canada:
An Historical Perspective of
Federal National Park
and Tourism Agencies and Key Interest Groups**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role and extent of collaborative interorganisational relations in the operationalisation of sustainable tourism in Canadian national parks. A considerable body of work suggests that sustainable tourism development may only be achieved when sectoral fragmentation is overcome and collaborative planning achieved. This thesis describes the findings from research that identifies obstacles to and opportunities for collaboration between key stakeholders in a tourism policy domain.

The thesis adopts a case study approach focussing on the Canadian 'national park – tourism' policy domain. National parks in Canada are significant tourist attractions, however their tourism use is becoming increasingly contested, not only by some stakeholders (notably environmental groups), but also by a changing policy environment favouring enhanced ecological integrity. Notwithstanding the above forces for change, empirical evidence still points to a situation where tourism in many of Canada's national parks is ecologically unsustainable.

Utilising an interorganisational relations framework, the aim of this research is to describe the relationships between organisations in the above domain and to identify facilitating and inhibiting influences acting upon the relationships. Within the domain, five key stakeholders are identified, comprising the parks agency, the national tourism organisation, a tourism lobby group and two environmental groups. In-depth interviews with key informants in each organisation reveal the nature of relationships and key influences upon relationships. The research method also incorporates policy (document) analysis and archival research – approaches used to historically inform both the interview process and the resultant analysis, and to provide a context for the relationships in terms of broader societal processes.

The study revealed a number of significant findings. Key inhibitors to relationships within the domain were found to be primarily related to differences in institutional values and ideologies, and the linked attitudes and behaviour of individuals within organisations. Furthermore, by adopting an historical approach and a multi-levelled analysis, the study demonstrated the significant role of contextual influences – political, social and economic – on relationships within the domain. The recent influence of federal macro-economic policy in particular has been highly influential in both facilitating and inhibiting relationships. Not only does this policy act through the obvious ways such as reduced funding for some federal organisations, but also through the environment of change it generates, resulting, for example in unstable platforms for relationships. The study also revealed that macro policy is manifested in a number of less obvious 'micro' ways – for example in changing participants' foci from an organisational and external focus to an individual and internal focus – with implications for interorganisational relationships.

The historic and contemporary role of interest groups was also found to be an important aspect of the domain. In particular the extent to which environmental groups have dealt with issues of resource poverty and exclusion by adopting 'out-of-domain' approaches is significant. While co-ordinated policy making is widely accepted as a basis for environmentally sustainable tourism development, organisations may contribute more towards this goal by choosing not to be included, or by being excluded from, this framework of co-ordination.

There is little evidence from this case study, of widespread active co-operation or collaboration within the domain among stakeholders. Neither is there a clear unanimous adherence to or commonly accepted meaning of the concept of sustainable tourism. The co-operation that does exist is sporadic or focused upon narrow interpretations of sustainable tourism.

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List of Abbreviations

BBVTF	Banff Bow Valley Task Force
CGOT (1968-1990)	Canadian Government Office of Tourism
CGTB (1947-1968)	Canadian Government Travel Bureau
CNF	Canadian Nature Federation
CPAWS	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
CPR	Canadian Pacific Rail
CPS (1987-1993)	Canadian Parks Service
CTB (1934-1947)	Canadian Travel Bureau
CTC	Canadian Tourism Commission
DIANA	Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
EAITC	External Affairs and International Trade Canada
ENGO	Environmental non-governmental organisation
IDCT	Interdepartmental Committee on Tourism
IISD	International Institute for Sustainable Development
IOR	Interorganisational relations
ISTC	Industry Science and Technology Canada
IUOTO	International Union for Official Tourism Organisations
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPPAC (1963-1985)	National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada
NPS (1966-1973)	National Parks Service
NRTEE	National Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy
NTO	National tourism organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
TBS	Treasury Board Secretariat
TIAC	Tourism Industry Association of Canada

UNCED	United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development
WCED	World Commission on the Environment and Development
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Sustainable development and collaboration

The concepts of sustainability and specifically sustainable development have been promoted as means by which to address some of the externalities of tourism, and as frameworks for future planning in the tourism sector (e.g. Hall 1991). Advocates of sustainable development in the field of tourism argue that the concept may only be realised through integrated, co-ordinated, and collaborative planning initiatives (e.g. Inskeep 1991; WTTC 1995; Robson and Robson 1996). However, the institutional setting for tourism policy is weak (Pridham 1996 in Williams and Shaw 1998): the fragmented nature of the tourism sector hinders integrative strategic planning, and may therefore also hinder the attainment of sustainable development goals. Thus the call for sustainable tourism development comes with a warning that operationalisation of the concept will require a much greater level of co-operation and collaboration among stakeholders than practised to date (e.g. Jamal and Getz 1995).

However, the above argument, that sustainable development, implemented through collaborative planning will provide the panacea for tourism's ills, is based on a number of *a priori* assumptions. First, that all stakeholders have a shared understanding of the concept of sustainable tourism, of how it could be brought into being, and are genuinely concerned with its implementation. Secondly, in order for a system or domain to function efficiently, collaboration and co-operation must be the normative or dominant feature of interaction. Dominance, conflict, and the role of social actors are downplayed as, in this argument, functionality can only be acquired and sustained through integration, conservation and conformity.

Furthermore, for sustainable tourism to work, the appropriate institutional arrangements must sit within an overall context or environment that is conducive to its operationalisation. Williams and Shaw (1998) believe that this aspect of the sustainability question has been neglected, and that there has been a failure to link the debates on sustainability with those on the wider political economy. They note, for example, the potential importance of macro scale issues such as economic restructuring on sustainable tourism. In a similar vein, a number of other authors have pointed to the impact of the neo-conservative political agenda that has dominated the economic rationale of many western nations over the latter two decades (Pearce 1992; Hall and Jenkins 1995a; Hall 2000).

Associated policies have driven changes to the ways in which governments are involved in tourism, through the structures and roles of tourism organisations (e.g. Craik 1991; Pearce 1992; Hall and Jenkins 1995b) and ultimately through the individuals who work with and within these organisations. It is important, therefore, that any study concerning the operationalisation of sustainable tourism must be conducted within a framework that will allow the consideration and integration of these multiple layers of influence – from the macro, to the meso or organisational, and to the micro or personal.

This thesis explores the above issues through an empirical study of the key stakeholders and institutions concerned with tourism and national parks in Canada. Firstly, through a focus on the relevant literature, the study seeks to explicate the concept of sustainable development generally and specifically with respect to the relationship between national parks and tourism. Establishing how the concept is defined by published experts, and by the social/political environment within which the concept emerged, provides the necessary frame within which one can ascertain how the concept has been received, interpreted and implemented if at all in this domain.¹ That is, this study explores the concept, its interpretation and its implementation into international and national policy, and seeks to explicate what this formalisation or embracing of the concept means in practice.

The argument that sustainable development hinges upon integrated and collaborative planning, whilst having considerable academic currency has not been extensively explored empirically within the protected area - tourism policy domain. The empirical research to date is incomplete and provides no comprehensive insight into the operationalisation of this concept. Thus, despite the emphasis placed on the need for collaboration and co-operation by researchers in this field, relatively few studies have explored the nature of relationships within this domain, and whether or not these ‘kinds’ of relationships are necessary for the realisation of sustainable tourism development. Furthermore, those studies that have been conducted (e.g. Selin and Beason 1995; Parker 2000; Ritchie 2000) tend to be micro in focus, taking one locality but seldom considering wider societal and international influences. They also tend to be ahistorical and thus any understanding of the dynamics of the relationships over time within this domain, remains obscured.

¹ A domain comprises a set of organisations with a common interest in a problem (Milward 1982 and Trist 1983: in Gray and Hay 1986:96).

1.2 Focus of this study

This study attempts to redress the gaps in empirical knowledge concerning the implementation of sustainable tourism development in protected areas, by focusing on the one particular category of protected area (national parks) in a destination (Canada) where the tourism utilisation of these areas is highly contested. Whilst the choice of site for this study is more fully explained in Chapter Four, suffice to say at this point, that Canada's national parks, because of their high tourism use, and the extent of the debate among stakeholders concerning this use, offer a suitable backdrop against which organisational and relationship issues may readily be researched. The interorganisational relationship component of the operationalisation of sustainable tourism development will be considered through an analysis of the key stakeholder relationships in this domain. The understanding of these relationships will be pursued through an exploration of the historical development of this domain, and by establishing the key moments and influences in domain development. Specifically the study addresses a lack of understanding of the nature, scope and structure of relationships within this domain.

The question of scale implicitly adopts a central position in this analysis – on two counts: first, this research examines system-wide policy settings, an uncommon approach, as most studies of protected area tourism phenomenon are micro in focus (e.g. Selin and Beason 1994). Also, in terms of the facilitating and constraining factors for the relationships under consideration, in terms of scale, this study undertakes a multi-levelled analysis. It will consider how macro factors, such as the wider political arena, economic, social and cultural change, shape and in turn are shaped through the relationships within this domain. The study will also explore, on a micro scale, relationships between specific organisations, and how individuals working collectively within these institutions understand, interpret and respond to their relationships with others working in specific/separate institutions.

This study draws on a body of theory considered under the broad title of interorganisational relations. Interorganisational relations theory specifically addresses the nature of relationships between organisations. It is a useful tool for this study in that it may be applied to the association between individual relationships and the functioning of wider policy domains in domain-level issues. Within the context of Canadian national park tourism, interorganisational relations theory is applied in order to establish some grounding concepts and a framework for exploring the nature of relationships in the domain, the function of the domain, how operators within the domain address mutual concerns, and in order to explicate what co-operation may or may not entail.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To analyse the extent and nature of the interorganisational relationships between Canada's federal national parks agency and its national tourism organisation.
2. To critically examine the nature of the interorganisational relationships between the above organisations and a sample of key interest groups – specifically environmental non-governmental organisations and a tourism lobby group.
3. To ascertain the contemporary factors that act as facilitators or inhibitors to interorganisational relationships among the above organisations.
4. To investigate and explain the connections between interorganisational relations and the operationalisation of sustainable tourism in Canada's national park system.

1.4 The setting for the case study

This thesis adopts a case study approach in the examination of interorganisational relationships among key tourism and national park stakeholders in Canada. The study organisations include present and past manifestations of the following organisations: Canada's federal national park agency, Parks Canada; Canada's national tourism organisation, the Canadian Tourism Commission; the primary (federal level) tourism industry organisation, Tourism Industry Association of Canada; and the two main environmental non-governmental organisations concerned with the issue of tourism impacts within national parks, The Canadian Nature Federation, and the Canadian National Parks and Wilderness Society.

As outlined above, this thesis presents empirical evidence tracing the historical development of interorganisational relationships among the above organisations, through to the present. Data were collected through an analysis of primary archival and contemporary material and from published secondary data pertaining to the above organisations and their relationships. This contemporary manifestation of the above relationships was also informed through an analysis of interview material attained from the interview of twenty-three key informants located within or working with the above organisations.

1.5 What this study contributes

This study contributes to our knowledge on a number of fronts. Firstly, it contributes to the debate on sustainable tourism within the protected area context. By providing a detailed account of the historic and contemporary nature of relations between key stakeholders within the protected-area tourism policy domain, this study goes beyond the current rhetoric on sustainability and collaboration to provide empirical evidence on the role of collaboration and partnerships in this area. Thus the study contributes on both a theoretical and pragmatic level by providing a description of stakeholders' understanding of sustainable tourism, and also by identifying key obstacles and opportunities for collaboration among the above stakeholders.

Moreover, the study progresses the application of interorganisational relations research, addressing concerns such as the paucity of contextualisation in such studies. This study purposely adopts a multi-levelled research framework, the benefits of which are revealed in the exposure of a broad range of factors serving to inhibit relationships across the study domain. Significant factors include federal level macro-economic policy, which has acted to place some government agencies in a situation of resource poverty and dependence. Whilst such policies largely determine the broad direction of government agencies, they are also revealed to act at the meso and micro levels by creating unstable bases for the development of ongoing partnerships, and impacting upon the individuals charged with maintaining partnerships.

This research also reveals the significant role of non-co-operation within the study domain, and ultimately, for sustainable tourism. Those stakeholders lacking power and influence through traditional means and arrangements within the domain are shown to exert power through a range of non-co-operative means. The study thus challenges the pro-co-ordination approach of much interorganisational relations research.

1.6 Structure of the study

This study comprises fifteen chapters. Chapter two introduces the topic of protected area tourism, and examines, through a review of relevant literature, key developments and influences in protected area tourism policy. This chapter goes on to address sustainable development as a paradigm for natural resource management, and specifically, sustainable tourism development and its application to the issue of protected area tourism. Within this discussion, the concept is critically analysed with respect to its interpretation and its potential for operationalisation. Emphasis is placed on the integrative and collaborative component of the sustainable development approach, and the roles of key stakeholders within the implementation process.

Chapter Three addresses the specific theoretical framework adopted for this study – interorganisational relations. A brief history of the development of interorganisational relations theory is provided, and the application of this theory to the issue of protected area tourism is discussed. This section focuses on the critical contingencies for relationship formation – why or why not organisations enter into relationships, and factors serving to facilitate and inhibit these relationships. These considerations are applied to the wider domain, and the potential problems that domains may experience in terms of applying collaborative solutions to problems. In relation to the study domain of protected area tourism, it is argued, from an analysis of previous work in this area, and from the wider literature, that the domain is problematic, due primarily to the lack of convergent values. The implications for the application of sustainable tourism development in protected areas, are flagged.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological approach used in this study. Justification for the case study approach is provided, and the selection of the study organisations discussed. The specific methodological requirements of the interorganisational relations framework are addressed, along with what have been identified as potential methodological ‘traps’ associated with this framework, and how these have been avoided. This chapter ends with a discussion of methodological concerns that arose in the process of undertaking this study.

Chapters Five to Thirteen introduce the case study material, beginning with Chapter Five which backgrounds the sustainable development debate in Canada, with particular relevance to sustainable tourism and national parks. The institutional arrangements for sustainable development in Canada are outlined and the federal government’s role critically examined. The contributions of specific stakeholders to sustainable tourism in national parks are outlined. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how sustainable development has impacted upon relationships between stakeholders within the study domain, and consequently, how it has impacted upon the functioning of the domain itself.

Chapter Six describes the Canadian context for the formation of relations with the focus on relations within the federal government and between the federal government and interest groups. This chapter demonstrates how relationships have varied historically through the influence of various social and political developments. Among the contextual factors considered are the rise in political awareness and participation in political processes by various interests, and more recently, the adoption of sustainability as a goal at a federal level: these changes are interpreted within the theoretical framework of interorganisational relations. The significance and effectiveness of various institutional arrangements for communication at the federal level are discussed. Finally, the chapter explores the different modes of

communications used by different types of interest groups, and how these impact upon relationships. The interest groups in this study are discussed in connection with these categories.

Chapter Seven introduces tourism in Canada, providing an overview of the Canadian tourism industry. The role of protected areas and especially national parks within the tourism industry is highlighted. The chapter then goes on to discuss the development of the national parks system in Canada, noting the role of relationships between the public and private sectors in the establishment of parks. The growth of tourism in national parks is charted, and issues of sustainability addressed in terms of the impacts of tourism that have become increasingly evident.

Chapters Eight and Nine examine the two primary study organisations, the national parks agency, and the national tourism organisation respectively. These organisations are analysed on an historical basis with respect to their legislative and policy mandates, their structures and a number of other factors that position them with respect to the relationships they develop, and their roles within the study domain. These chapters document how, in general, policy and other developments have impacted on these organisations' willingness and ability to form and maintain relations with other national park – tourism stakeholders.

Chapter Ten focuses on the historic development of the relationship between the two primary study organisations. The change from a co-operative relationship based upon reciprocity, to one that for a period was characterised by distrust, change and uncertainty, is documented and explained in terms of the critical contingencies for relationship formation, and the facilitating and inhibiting factors that were operating.

Chapter Eleven introduces the qualitative interview material from participants of the contemporary relationship, and discusses their perceptions of the relationship. The relationship is discussed in terms of the facilitators and inhibitors evident from participants' accounts.

The broader literature indicates a significant role for interest groups in shaping the nature of tourism in protected areas. Chapter Twelve introduces the three interest groups that comprise the secondary organisations in this study and outlines their roles with respect to sustainable tourism in national parks. The history, function and structure of each of the interest groups is outlined, and their relationships within the domain discussed. The next chapter, utilising current interview material from the study, examines contemporary relationships among the interest groups, and with the primary study organisations, as revealed by participants of the relationships.

Chapter Fourteen reviews and summarises the findings of the previous chapters. Dominant themes concerning the interorganisational relations within the study domain, and related to the functioning of the domain as a whole are linked and discussed. The findings of the study are examined in relation to sustainable tourism development. Conclusions are drawn concerning the role of integrated, collaborative planning in the operationalisation of sustainable tourism for national parks in Canada, and by analogy, other locations. Finally, the limitations of the study are reviewed and possible future research directions outlined.

An ongoing theme of this thesis is that context is an important consideration in the study of interorganisational relationships. Thus an understanding of the historical context for protected area tourism and of the contemporary social, political and economic environment in which tourism and protected areas exist, is critical to an understanding of why and how organisations inter-relate and of how they may contribute to sustainable tourism. The following chapter will examine, on a number of levels, the relationships between tourism interests and agencies concerned with the natural environment – in particular, protected natural areas. On a policy level, what has been the relationship as perceived by commentators in this field, and how have organisations involved in this domain viewed one another over time? What have been the key institutional and micro factors that have helped shape protected area tourism? The chapter will also seek to elucidate the influence of the sustainable development paradigm upon the protected area – tourism debate, and demonstrate how policy co-ordination and sustainable tourism are interlinked.

Chapter 2: Tourism, the environment and sustainable development

2.1 The tourism-environment relationship

Any discussion concerning relationships between stakeholders in the protected area – tourism domain, must initially address the broader issue of the relationship between tourism and the environment. As this chapter discusses, history has revealed a relationship that has always been ambiguous. Significantly, the perception of the impact of tourism, and evaluations that stress either positive or negative features have changed over time.² In the past, tourism was perceived as the ideal, non-harmful or “smokeless” industry (Dickman 1994). However, a large literature documenting physical impacts, coupled with an increased environmental awareness amongst the travelling populace has led to a greater appreciation both within and outside the tourism sector of the potentially harmful effects of tourism on the physical environment (e.g. Cohen 1978).

Changes have been observed within the tourism industry to cope with these harmful images. One such change has been the adoption of tourism industry codes in an effort to curb tourism developments and activities that may be harmful to the environment (e.g. Tourism Industry Association of Canada and the National Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy 1992). Another trend is the growth of environmentally conscious tourism or ‘ecotourism’, as a positive reaction to the negative aspects of tourism.³ These innovations may suggest that we will observe changes in the ways that tourism has traditionally impacted the environment. More recently, there have been calls for changes in the tourism sector, to make tourism more ‘sustainable’ (e.g. WTO 1988 in Goodwin 1996).

Collectively, these changes have been described as part a paradigm shift: that is, from the Dominant Social Paradigm of economic growth through resource exploitation (which has been said to be the cause of many current environmental problems), to the New Environmental Paradigm, which adopts a more biocentric view, accepting limits to growth and the importance of protecting ecosystems (Dunlap and Van Liere 1984, in Dearden 1989:213). The new paradigm is reflected in the burgeoning adoption of sustainable development as a guiding principle for policy and planning internationally - a change that will potentially affect many human activities on the planet. Tourism is just one activity that has come under pressure to conform to the newly emerging paradigm, with its emphasis on conservation and

² Impacts are defined as all outcomes and consequences of human activities (Devlin and O’Connor 1989:178).

³ The emerging definition of ecotourism within the World Tourism Organisation comes from Australia’s Commonwealth Department of Tourism (1994 in Goodwin 1996:280): “nature based tourism that involves education and interpretation of the natural environment and is managed to be ecologically sustainable”

sustainability. What do these changes mean, and through what institutional arrangements are these new values to be operationalised within the tourism sector? One significant area of interest is how these changes may be manifested in the way that tourism is represented in protected areas.

2.1.1 Significance of protected natural areas

For many countries, and indeed internationally, the protected area system, which generally comprises a collection of the most scenically attractive and botanically and zoologically interesting areas, forms one of the cornerstones of the tourism industry. Tourists are attracted to these protected areas, such as national parks and related sites.⁴ Indeed, there is evidence that the very designation of sites as protected areas encourages tourism to those sites (Ashworth and Turnbridge 1990 in Drost 1996:481).

But the ecological significance too, of these areas cannot be overstated: they preserve genetic diversity, maintain critical ecological processes, and may provide a benchmark, against which further environmental change may be measured (for a full discussion of these roles see: Eagles 1993; McNeely and Miller 1984; and Heywood and Watson 1995). Yet, from the early 1970s, commentators were warning that increasing numbers and densities of visitors were threatening some of the most significant natural and historic resources of the world's national parks and equivalent resources (e.g. Forster 1973 in Fagence 1990). Today, with current global international tourist arrivals at over 600 million each year (Hall 2000), a figure up on that of 1970, by about 200%, without appropriate safeguards, the situation facing the world's national parks is potentially catastrophic.

It is necessary at this stage to consider more closely the multiple roles and functions of protected natural areas. Here, 'national parks' provide one illustration of a protected natural area.

2.1.2 The roles of "national parks"

National parks have long been considered the cornerstone of the international conservation movement (e.g. McNeely 1984). The international definition of 'national park' was formulated at the World Congress on National Parks in Delhi in 1969: national parks are relatively large areas that contain representative samples of major natural regions, features, or scenery, where plant and animal species, geomorphological sites, and habitats are of special

⁴ For the purposes of this study, "tourism" in national parks and other protected areas is accepted to be any recreational use of these areas. McKercher (1996) discusses the differences between tourism and recreation in parks, noting that tourism is not an absolute concept, and that attempts to distinguish between the two, for management purposes, are futile.

scientific, educational, and recreational interest (McNeely 1984:4). Since that time, the definition of national parks has undergone various changes. The evolving definition has in part resulted in a more liberal interpretation of the function of national parks. Reflective of this liberalisation was the adoption of the theme of the World Congress of National Parks in 1982: “Parks for Sustainable Development”. This signalled a shift away from notions of national parks as being primarily sites for preservation, towards the notion that parks could be developed. By 1992, the internationally recognised purpose of parks had been changed from the original 1969 definition, by the IVth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas. Parks now were to provide for “spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational” use by visitors (Goodwin 1996:285). This modification of the IUCN’s Protected Area Categories accepts and endorses the validity of tourism as a use of national parks, provided that it is compatible with the maintenance of the ecological integrity of parks (Goodwin 1996). The shift in definition has provoked opposition from conservation advocates, as it is seen as a compromise of the preservation purpose of parks.

The above brief history of the meaning of ‘national park’ is significant in that it has identified an historic basis for the contemporary debate on the roles and functions of parks. A number of factors, including the growth of national parks as tourism attractions, appear to have contributed to the contemporary shifts in definition of park roles.

2.1.3 Conflict over the purposes of national parks?

Management of national parks may be seen as at best a compromise between competing development and preservation interests (Butler 1993). The conflict between these interests is illustrated on a regular basis by debates such as that currently concerning the scale of tourism development in many national parks in North America and elsewhere (e.g. Boyd and Butler 2000; Booth and Simmons 2000; Parker and Ravenscroft 2000). The continuance and expansion of tourism use of parks has often aroused considerable opposition, such confrontations demonstrating the significant tension that exists between the interests of tourism and preservation in parks (Rollins 1993).

Budowski (1976) postulates that there are three possible scenarios for the relationship between tourism and environmental interests. The first is one of *co-existence*, where natural areas remain unimpacted by tourism, and which he notes was unlikely to last for long, with the rate of growth observed in tourism over recent decades. The second is one of *sybiosis*, and Budowski notes that there are few places where this has been achieved. The third scenario is one of *conflict* and it is noted that most of the documented relationships between tourism and the environment fall into this category.

With respect to the scenario of symbiosis, some researchers contest whether symbiosis *is* a possibility; they argue that the conversion of natural areas into tourist attractions has significantly altered their character, and through attracting yet more tourists, undue pressure has been placed on the resource, consequently triggering the need for more remedial action (Mathieson and Wall 1982). Others believe that the symbiotic relationship as proposed by Budowski has simply broken down, and note an urgent need to “re-establish the natural alliance between ecologists and conservationists and those responsible for tourism” (Kenchington 1989:231).

2.1.4 Conflicting values

Why has the relationship taken this course, and is there indeed a natural alliance between these parties? A likely contributing factor to this disjunction is the tension between their two conflictual goals, one which stresses utility or use ‘value’ (material utility in a capitalist system) and the other which stresses ‘sanctity’, preservation and ‘purity’. In reality a range of values are at issue, and the management dilemma of protected area use stems in part from how these different values are represented in natural areas. The situation with national parks is complicated by the large range of associated values: aesthetic, recreational, scientific, intrinsic, historical, cultural, and market values (Devlin and O’Connor 1989). Even within these categories conflict is evident.

It is apparent that protected area managers have long been aware of the need for a range of these values to be represented within parks. This is evidenced, for example by the introduction in the 1960s of master plans and management approaches such as zoning, to address the different goals of parks (Booth and Simmons 2000). Managers have been constantly under pressure to define the point on the development-preservation continuum where parks should be located, and the range of values to be accommodated: by no means an easy task, judging by the continued level of debate over natural area use, and the consistent degree of criticism levelled at heritage management organisations, by both environmentalists and developers; representatives of both ends of the value continuum. Some commentators (e.g. Lemons 1987) are critical of what is seen as an attempt by heritage managers to manage for *all* conflicting values. In contrast with newly emergent planning paradigms that advocate compromise, or the inclusion of a range of values, there is a feeling that park managers must decide which goals have priority - preservation or use.

2.1.5 Tourism, commodification and control

The conflict of use of protected areas, may also be conceptualised as part of a process of commodification of the natural environment. The rapid growth of tourism coincides with the post WWII phenomenon of mass production and consumption. As consumption increased in importance, tourism alongside other practices became more commodified, with parks becoming resources, or products (Clark 1995). Significantly, this commodification involves assigning one kind of value to natural areas, which may be at the expense of other values. Through the process of commodification, the natural environment can be seen as the basic resource or product base of tourism. In fact the landscape has been described as the “raw material” of tourism, and tourists as consumers of the landscape and countryside (Krippendorf 1982:136). Some believe that in this respect, tourism must be considered as an exploitative industry, comparable to mining or forestry. Yet tourism is the only such industry permitted in most national parks and protected areas (Woodley 1993). The increased perception of parks as resources or commodities that can pay their own way, and ultimately demonstrate their utility, has manifested itself recently in terms of the reduction in funding in real terms, for ecological preservation of protected areas, a trend that has been observed in various locations (e.g. Adams 1995).

Yet despite the above issues, many researchers believe that they have found evidence for symbiosis in the tourism-environment relationship, claiming that tourism has awakened an appreciation for nature that has served as an incentive for the adoption of conservation measures. For example it is argued by Milne (1990), that despite there being little evidence to indicate any *widespread* existence of the above symbiotic relationship, there is evidence that tourism has been an important stimulus to conservation in certain areas.

2.1.6 The recreation-preservation paradox

Indeed, the scenario of tourism benefiting conservation has been regularly proffered as a justification for the development of tourism within natural areas (e.g. Boo 1990, Whelan 1991). This view, that conservation relies upon the support of tourists has been described as one of the recreation/preservation paradoxes, whereby visitors to parks are necessary to support preservation, but those visitors may have an impact on what it is that parks are endeavouring to preserve (Devlin and O'Connor 1989). This paradoxical situation is problematic for managers of natural areas; for example, some managers, wary of losing the political support of park users, may choose to avoid conflict with visitors by ignoring the resource problems that visitors cause (Bixler, Noe and Hammitt 1992).

Furthermore, some researchers critique this justification for tourism, by questioning the degree of political support provided by visitors (e.g. Nienaber 1980 in Foresta 1984:122; Ashworth 1995).

2.1.7 The economic justification for tourism in natural areas

It has been argued that, in addition to the potential political support provided by tourism, that tourism also provides conservation with an economic justification, and a source of revenue (Philips 1985 in Goodwin 1996:285). Regional studies from Africa in particular have provided evidence for this (e.g. Greanville 1989 in Anon 1990:55; Olindo 1991): in the absence of economically competitive alternative uses for natural areas, tourism *can* provide an incentive for the protection of these areas. There is also the added benefit of visitor fees to park management, but whether these fees are actually used for resource protection at the site is another question.⁵

Perhaps Leslie (1986) is correct in concluding that tourism is both supported by, and in support of conservation. However, there appears little doubt that visitor use *does* lead to ecological disruption within protected natural areas with many examples indicating an adverse effect of tourism on the natural values of parks (e.g. Kenchington 1989; Davis and Weiler 1992; Wells 1993).

2.1.8 Type and extent of impacts

There is a wealth of literature describing the impacts of tourism on protected areas. In the interests of brevity, and considering the focus of this thesis, which is upon *organisations* rather than physical impacts, it is more pertinent that the author only point the reader toward a number of general reviews of work in this field, rather than provide an exhaustive account. The first empirical studies into the ecological impact of visitors to natural areas were undertaken as early as the 1930s examining such impacts as the effects of trampling on vegetation (Farrell and McLellan 1987). However, relatively little work was published in this area until the 1960s and 1970s, a period which witnessed the growth of tourism, of environmental awareness in general and as a result of both, a greater awareness of the impact of human visitation on natural ecosystems. Amongst the literature there are a number of useful reviews (e.g. Cohen 1978; Pearce 1986; Farrell and McLellan 1987; Farrell and Runyan 1991; and Green and Hunter 1992).

2.1.9 Impact in protected natural areas

With regard to protected areas in particular, the evidence is damning: for example, a study undertaken where managers of World Heritage Sites were polled regarding tourism and impacts revealed significant concern over visitor impact. Forty of the seventy managers polled ranked tourism as one of the major problems within their sites: for 27% of sites, tourism was assessed as being either “unsatisfactory” or “too high” (Vallas and Becherel 1995).

Apart from the direct physical impacts, the growing significance or magnitude of visitor management in parks raises questions about the place of this management activity within the range of other management roles of heritage agencies. When visitor impact management becomes the predominant management activity, are adequate resources allocated to, or available for general ecosystem management?

2.1.10 Management of impact in protected natural areas

Visitor impact management has become a primary concern in protected areas: who addresses these impacts, and what are some of the approaches used? There is a widely held view that tourism is a cross-sectoral activity, requiring co-ordinated approaches for successful planning and implementation of policies (e.g. Gunn 1988, Inskeep 1991). One would assume, therefore, that the management of the impacts or externalities of tourism is similarly a cross-sectoral issue, requiring an integrated approach. However, the task of addressing the negative impacts of tourism within protected natural areas has traditionally been seen to be the responsibility of heritage management agencies. The range of management responses and tools employed by heritage management agencies over the past thirty years to address visitor impact is indicative both of the extent and intractability of the problem, as perceived by these agencies.

A discussion of the approaches adopted by heritage managers to deal with tourism and its associated problems in natural areas is significant, as it highlights the dominant concepts of limits and limitations. First, that there are limits to the level of use that a site can receive without causing damage to the site. Secondly, limitations should therefore at some point be placed upon tourist use of sites. This approach, traditionally revolving around the concepts of limits or capacities would appear to have its antithesis in the approach adopted by tourism industry counterparts, whose central themes have been expansion and growth.

⁵ The US Treasury collects as much as US\$2 million dollars a day from national park entrance fees (Rose 1996).

2.1.11 Carrying capacity

The concept of carrying capacity, is central to visitor impact management. However as Butler (1991:205) points out, it has been pursued “almost as arduously as the Holy Grail”, with about as little success. The concept has been critiqued on a number of technical grounds and also with respect to the social aspects of its implementation. Some criticism concerns the difficulties in setting one capacity: because of the multi-jurisdictional nature of tourism, setting limits may conflict with “other desires for maximising opportunities for growth and the benefits associated with increased visitor use” (Gill and Williams 1994:213).

Despite the extensive word play revolving around the concept of carrying capacity, relatively few studies have been undertaken to actually determine carrying capacity in parks - perhaps because of the above operational difficulties (Boo 1990; Whelan 1991). The debate over carrying capacity has been diverted to a number of other related, but potentially more practicable frameworks of visitor management, for example, Limits of Acceptable Change (Stankey et al 1985) and Visitor Impact Management (Payne and Graham 1993). However these frameworks too have been the subject of criticism: Gill and Williams (1994) note some of the shortcomings, for example, when inappropriate value judgements are incorporated, which may lead to conflicts between management views and those of other stakeholders.⁶

Ultimately, however, despite its limitations, the guiding principle for tourism management in the majority of natural areas remains that of carrying capacity. Yet the fundamental problem associated with this concept, its subjectivity, remains: who decides what levels of visitor use and consequently impact, are acceptable? And there are still other overriding questions that impinge on its operationalisation: for example whether implementing limits to protected area use is politically desirable, morally acceptable, and indeed practicable.

The carrying capacity framework is particularly relevant to this study, as it has been proposed as a suitable framework for developing and implementing sustainable tourism development (Butler 1993). But as discussed above, the implementation of carrying capacity appears fundamentally flawed. Thus the same problem of subjectivity may arise, and even more so, in attempts to apply the carrying capacity concept on a broader scale. Furthermore, there is the issue of deciding what is the appropriate level of use, and selecting suitable criteria upon which to base such a decision.

⁶ Grey (1989 in Jamal and Getz 1995:187) defines “stakeholders” as “the actors with an interest in a common problem or issue and include all groups or organisations directly influenced by the actions others take to solve a problem”.

To recap, despite evidence for some symbiosis or positive relationships between tourism and the environment, the negative physical impacts of tourism on protected natural areas are substantial. Management approaches to impact mitigation have centred upon heritage management agencies. An isolated approach rather than the popularly supported integrative approach, has been the model for coping with the impacts of tourism in protected areas. Additionally, the subjectivity of some of the management measures adopted by these agencies, such as limiting use through the establishment of carrying capacities, and their ability to exacerbate differences among stakeholders have also been brought into question.

For the context of protected area tourism, it appears that the time is ripe for the adoption of a planning approach that addresses the conflicts between tourism and environmental interests; an approach that endeavours to incorporate the views of stakeholders, and the range of values they represent. A sustainable development approach has been promulgated as the means to achieve this but it is arguable that this approach will face the same problems in its application as carrying capacity. Considering the traditional difficulties faced within the protected area – tourism domain, ‘sustainable tourism development’ may supplant carrying capacity as the new ‘Holy Grail’ in this area.

The next section will address some of the problems of traditional approaches to tourism planning. The issues of impacts and the role of an integrated, co-ordinated, multi-organisational approach in preventing or mitigating these impacts are highlighted.

2.2 Tourism Planning

2.2.1 A planned versus ad hoc approach

Central to the problem of negative tourism impacts is planning and policy, which are seen as critical in averting such impacts (Gunn 1988). However, Hall (1991) notes that the rapid pace of tourism growth and development has meant that responses to tourism impacts have often been *ad hoc* responses, and that an *ad hoc* approach is the antithesis to planning. Similarly, a criticism of protected area management is that responses to tourism impact have often been, up to a point, of an *ad hoc* nature (e.g. Butler 1993). Certainly, a number of useful operational frameworks have been employed in an attempt to reduce impacts, however, these are usually applied on a micro-scale or park-by-park basis, have traditionally been very resource-based (rather than visitor-based), and generally do not take into account the broader picture of regional and national tourism patterns or policy. And as noted above, they are also traditionally single-institution approaches.

Gunn (1988) outlines a number of foundation points for the development of an overall approach to tourism planning. Among these are the requirements for tourism planning to be pluralistic, strategic and integrative. Gunn notes that there is a need to take into account societal objectives and balance these with other often-conflicting tourism objectives. An examination of historical and contemporary tourism planning practices may provide an indication of whether or not Gunn's requirements have been met.

2.2.2 The evolution of tourism policy

Over the years, it appears that tourism policy has been more the subject of criticism than praise, perhaps a reflection of the long-standing issue of the negative impacts of tourism activities. Forster (1973 in Fagence 1990:2) was one of the earliest writers to criticise tourism planning, in calling it "ill conceived and poorly planned management compromises" between environmental values and commercial interests. More recently, Butler (1991:204) has asserted that tourism has "traditionally suffered and benefited from public sector neglect in terms of understanding and real planning".

Despite these ongoing concerns, many contributors to this field recognise an evolution of tourism policy, from an initial concern with issues of facilitating and promoting tourism, principally as a revenue earner, to later, as the environmental impacts of tourism became more apparent, incorporation of environmental and social considerations (e.g. Hall 1991). One of the earliest analyses of post WWII tourism policy was that of the OECD (1974 in Getz 1986:21) who identified three stages in the evolution of national tourism policy. Initially, there was a period in which facilitation of travel was emphasised, followed by a period of focus upon tourism promotion, and then in the 1960s, recognition of tourism as an industry. This period produced more interest in tourism planning, but almost all from a perspective of maximising economic growth.⁷

In a similar vein, Fayas-Sola (1996) recognises two 'generations' of tourism policy: 'first generation policy', was characterised by the objective of stimulating mass tourism from a quantitative viewpoint - to increase the numbers of tourists and maximise total tourism revenues for the economic development of the receiving country; a 'second generation' of policy followed the 1970s and 1980s waves of tourism recession and growth. This generation of policy better understood the social, economic and environmental impacts of tourism, and pursued a new objective of increasing the contribution of tourism to the well being of the host community, as well as maintaining competitiveness.

⁷ See also Krippendorff's (1982) conception of tourism policy evolution.

2.2.3 Criticism of tourism policy

The short-term goals of tourism policy that seek to maximise economic gain through maximising tourist numbers have been main the subject of criticism. The OECD, for example, note the advantages of maximising long-term income rather than numbers of tourists, and propose a “bio-social resource based approach” to tourism planning, where the ecological systems provide the framework within which economic and physical planning may take place (OECD 1980:81). In the OECD’s view, the purpose of tourism planning should be:

...for the increase and long term economic well being of the host community, using tourist development to bring those desirable physical and economic changes it wants for itself...and to protect and respect those areas which are sensitive to visitor pressures, are by their nature fragile and have a low user capacity (OECD:90).

The OECD outlines the range of policies needed by institutions managing tourism: physical development policies; policies on access and inaccessibility; economic policies; conservation planning policies; and cultural and educational policies. The interaction of these sets of policies forms the overall system of policy planning for tourism and the environment.

In a similar vein, the continued dominance of development or commercialisation over protection of the environment is questioned by other writers in this field, such as Krippendorf, who calls for a change in political attitude, and weighing up “possible devastating consequences or possible profits, before areas are developed for tourism and streams of tourists are enticed into the country” (Krippendorf 1982:148). Further work also draws attention to the need for improved planning, and the adoption of limits for tourism growth (Getz 1986; Inskeep 1987).

Many of the above authors either explicitly or implicitly point to the cause of the above mentioned tourism policy condition, that is, the conflict between a commercial ideology and an environmental ideology. The problem lies, they indicate, in the prevalence of the commercial/entrepreneurial ideology over the public interest ideology (Seekings 1980 in Fagence 1990:4). Key causes of this conflict are seen to be poorly defined or contradictory objectives, unbalanced assessments of tourism impact, increased demand for access to areas because of extensive marketing and promotion campaigns, and pressure to relax environmental control in the face of potential tourism benefits to local economies (Fagence 1990). Contributing to this conflict is a lack of consistency towards, and commitment to, environment and heritage on the part of tourism organisations and governments (Gunn 1977).

Indeed, some critics believe that any benign change in the tourism industry has been adopted at a cosmetic level only. Ashworth (1995:51), for example, describes the tourism industry's response to environmental impacts as a response "to a public relations promotional problem... not a problem of resource maintenance". Ashworth believes that there is no appreciation on the part of the tourism sector that tourism demands upon environmental resources should be directed, let alone reduced.

2.2.4 A call for a new approach to tourism planning

Although a number of approaches have been taken in tourism planning, some have been dominant in their application, for example, 'Boosterism', the simplistic idea that tourism development is inherently good and of automatic benefit to the hosts, with natural resources being regarded as objects to be exploited for the sake of tourism development. Boosterism may be seen as really a form of non-planning (Hall 1991). In this approach, only two groups of people are involved - politicians and others who gain financially from tourism (Getz 1987). Similarly, in the 'economic industry-based' approach, tourism is seen as an industry where economic goals are given priority over social and ecological questions, however, because of issues such as visitor satisfaction, some limited attention may be given to the negative impacts of tourism (Hall 1991).

It is apparent that tourism planning needs to be able to evolve to meet new needs: the mitigation of environmental impacts is one of those needs (Hall 1991). A number of authors proffer sustainable development as one potential approach to tourism planning that could meet the needs of the tourism sector and the wider community (e.g. WTO 1988; Hall 1991; PATA 1992).

2.3 Sustainable development

This section will discuss the origins and meanings of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development. As will become apparent, there are problems relating to the broad interpretation of the sustainable development concept, which may be significant to the translation and implementation of sustainability within the tourism sector. There is an extensive literature on sustainability and sustainable development (for overviews see for example: Beder 1993; Clark 1995; Trzyna 1995). However, only a selection of the literature will be addressed in this discussion. Rather than provide a detailed theoretical analysis of the concept, the aim is to illustrate how sustainability is interpreted by society and its practitioners within the protected area – tourism domain, and in particular, how the concept may be operationalised and the role of co-ordination in this.

Attempts to achieve some form of balance between the use or development of natural resources and the protection of these resources was commonly referred to in the 1970s as “balanced use”, “multiple use” or “conservation”. In the 1980s this goal became known as either “sustainability” or “sustainable development”. Sustainable development became a conceptual mainstay of environmentalists and development professionals in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Sunderlin 1995). It has been described as the “development paradigm of the 1990s” (Lele 1991 in Sunderlin 1995:481) or similarly as the “reigning slogan of the 1990s” (Sachs 1993 in Sunderlin 1995: 481). Tourism has not escaped the attentions of such a widely received concept, and along with many human activities, there has been a call to place tourism on a more “sustainable” basis (e.g. WTO 1988; Hall 1991; PATA 1992).

2.3.1 What is sustainable development?

Predictably, for a concept that promises so much, sustainable development is open to question. Just how the concept is viewed, as fad, farce, oxymoron or useful policy guide, will ultimately depend upon current and future attempts to implement it in practice. However, it is evident that the concept has a long history. Vaillancourt (1997) traces the development of the concept from the Greek philosophers of nature, to the medieval Benedictine monks, and then to the early conservationists in Europe and North America. For example, in 1915, the Canadian Commission of Conservation suggested that “...each generation had the right to profit from the interest on nature’s capital, but that this capital had to be maintained intact for future generations to use in a similar fashion” (Vaillancourt 1997:222). Similarly, in 1948, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) was founded on the premise that both nature and its resources should be protected for the benefit of existing and future generations. At the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment, the idea of “eco-development” was put forward, leading ultimately to the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), as a complement to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The earliest mention of “sustainable development” was in the World Conservation Strategy of 1980, produced by the IUCN, World Wildlife Fund and UNEP. Following the 1982 UN Conference on the Environment, the UN General Assembly formed the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), which produced the 1987 report “Our Common Future”, commonly referred to as the Brundtland Report, after the President of the Commission. In turn, this report led ultimately to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and the Global Forum at Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Following the Rio conference, the General Assembly created the Commission for Sustainable Development, which is active today.

At this stage, it is important to note that although there are commonalities between early uses of the terms conservation and sustainability, there are also key differences. A major point of differentiation between the two is the integration of equity and ethics as components of sustainable development (Boyd 2000). This has largely come about through notions of sustainable development that have been popularised through the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987).

The publication of the Brundtland Report, became “the rallying cry of nearly all those in the world who are interested in simultaneously pursuing both economic development on the one hand, and environmental protection and resource conservation on the other” (Vaillancourt 1997:220). The Brundtland Report, followed by the Rio conference, has stimulated many nations to pursue their own goals of sustainable development, representing significant steps toward international endorsement of the concept (e.g. Ministry for the Environment (Canada) 1988; Environment Canada 1990; Yencken and Wilkinson 2000).

Sustainable development is defined in the Brundtland Report as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987:43). The Brundtland Report elaborates upon this base, noting that sustainable development comprises two key concepts: “needs”, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, and “limitations”, imposed by the state of technology and social organisation on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities (WCED 1987:43). The report goes on to stress that the goals of economic and social development must be defined in terms of sustainability. It acknowledges that interpretations will vary, but must share certain general features, and “must flow from a consensus on the basic concept of sustainable development” (WCED 1987:43).

2.3.2 The ambiguity of sustainable development

“The smooth words of sustainable development may lead us into quicksand”
(Worster 1993 in Clark 1995:239)

Despite the Brundtland definition, or perhaps *because* of it, many interpretations of sustainable development have arisen. Golley (1994) provides a brief discussion of the range of interpretations, and offers yet another to the lengthening list. It is the ambiguity of sustainable development that has tended to be the centre of debate since the concept’s inception (see for example: Arnold 1989; Dixon and Fallon 1989; Dovers 1989; Rosemarin 1990; Lele 1991; Redclift 1991; and Toman 1992 in Sunderlin 1995:482). Sunderlin (1995) ‘blames’ the innate appeal of the concept for its universal acceptance and consequent range of interpretations. He asks who can object to the concept of sustainability when it means preserving life on earth?

Or who can object to development when it means bettering the life conditions of those who are disadvantaged? Viederman (1993:14)) notes that as the word sustainability gains currency, it seems to be losing whatever precision it had. He favours De Vries' broad view of sustainability as an ethical guiding principle, rather than a precise policy tool, and offers a definition that includes human life, culture and nature (De Vries *no date* in Viederman 1993). Yet Viederman acknowledges the need for a more precise definition, to assist policy formulation and implementation.

There are those who claim that the vagueness of the sustainable development concept is its strength, creating opportunities for interpretations appropriate to different situations, and encouraging an adaptive and flexible approach (e.g. Daly and Cobb 1989 in Mitchell 1994: 145). Yet other writers see the inherent vagueness of sustainability as its greatest weakness. For example, the vagueness of sustainable development is, as some argue, being used by *both* industry and the conservation movement to "legitimise and justify their existing activities and policies, although in many cases, they are mutually exclusive" (McKercher 1993:131). In this respect, rather than be a catalyst for change, which was the great hope, sustainability could entrench existing policies and actions and exacerbate conservation/development conflicts.

Indeed, the sustainable development concept is not value-neutral, it is highly politically charged (Sunderlin 1995). Consequently, the ideological divisions between writers regarding sustainable development reflect divergent interests among various sectors and strata of society. As others observe, the diversity of opinion over the meaning of sustainable development isn't based on *confusion*, but rather on "firmly grounded suppositions and interests among various segments of society" (Redclift 1991 in Sunderlin 1995:482). Given the political nature of this concept, some argue that sustainable development has been largely defined within the managerial arena (Sunderlin 1995). Managerialism continues to be influential in the policies of the state, and thus continues to define sustainable development through the state's role in providing institutional arrangements for the operationalisation of the concept.

Despite the potential environmental solutions that sustainable development offers, we find that the concept is not without critics amongst those adopting an environmental perspective. To Clark (1995:234), "sustainable development of the WCED variety means business-as-usual", and has no ecological or moral content.

2.3.3 Problems with implementing sustainable development

Drummond and Marsden (1995) provide an overview of some of the criticisms of sustainable development, describing it as a 'capacious, ambiguous and inherently contradictory concept'. They say that the concept is now being seen as 'increasingly questionable' and that there is little consensus regarding the idea itself or methodologies for its implementation. However

despite such reservations, there are those who would believe that implementation is entirely possible. There would seem to be two important requisites for such implementation. Firstly, that the concept is adopted and actioned, initially on the level of the individual human being. Redclift takes this view, pointing out the importance of the actions of individuals (Redclift 1988 in Drummond and Marsden 1995). Secondly, that along with individual commitment, the concept receives broader credibility and integration into policy. Mitchell (1994) sees the problems of sustainable development implementation as hinging on creating credibility for new sustainability policies and realising cross-sectoral integration, noting that in some regions of the world for example, many policies remain only symbolic statements. Thus, a commitment and enthusiasm for sustainable development are seen as essential for its successful implementation.

2.3.4 Is sustainable development embraced?

From the above discussion, it appears that the extent to which the sustainable development concept has been embraced and committed to is debateable. Hawkins and Buttel (1992 in Vaillancourt 1997: 221) believe that like other “previous development fads”, sustainable development has been only superficially embraced and institutionalised by organisations. Clark (1995: 226) believes that evidence from the environment shows that people involved in economic development at local, national and global levels are “indifferent to, or ignorant of the concept of sustainable development”. Clark refers to politicians, bankers, developers and facilitators, saying that few of these groups know or care to know the meanings of sustainable development. However, Clark also argues that the sustainable development concept *has* been embraced by business interests because it poses no threat to conventional development, saying that they have “sensed the harmlessness of the whole exercise” (Clark 1995:242). Browne (2000) goes further, saying that businesses are adopting sustainable development because of enlightened self-interest – in other words, it looks good, and will be good for business.

Bryant (1991:164) believes that government and business elites deriving power from processes which often contribute to ecological degradation, are usually ill-disposed toward any changes that may threaten their power. He suggests that these elites will only tinker at reform, “cloaking such efforts in environmentalist rhetoric [such as sustainable development]”. Bryant goes on to point out that even if a state is receptive to the sustainable development argument, it may not be able to implement reform because of sectoral characteristics, for example, the multiplicity of actors, making co-ordinated action difficult.

Taking the above criticisms into account, however problematic the conceptualisation, consensus, and implementation of sustainable development may be, it will very likely stay in vogue for some time, and continue to be a force in natural resource management. This is partly attributable to it simply being a “motherhood” term, impossible to be rejected, and with

the power to “appeal to the hearts and minds of anyone” (Sunderlin 1995 :489). Indeed the significance of the concept should not be underestimated as it is increasingly seen to be applied as a major national and international guiding principle, incorporated into legislation and policy in many countries, including, for example, the United States (President’s Council on Sustainable Development 1997), Canada (Environment Canada 1990), Australia (Yencken and Wilkinson 2000) and New Zealand (Ministry for the Environment 1988).

2.4 Sustainable tourism development

Tourism has been one of the sectors to fall within the scope of the sustainable development paradigm. However, Hughes (1995) sees the sustainable tourism development concept as just a variation on a long standing critique of tourism, which has included attempts over the years to incorporate the concepts of carrying capacity, stewardship, green, alternative, responsible and post-industrial tourism. From an examination of the recent literature on tourism policy, it appears that the tourism sector has been making headway in the direction of sustainability for some time (or at least the sector has started referring to the concept in their policy documents). This is evidenced in the early acceptance of the principles of sustainable tourism development by leading organisations in the tourism sector. For example, the 1982 Joint Declaration of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) expressed the goal of sustainable tourism development before the term was even coined, and prior to the release of the Brundtland report (Drost 1996).⁸ Also, in 1985, the WTO adopted a “Tourism Bill of Rights” and “Tourist Code”, with similar sentiments. And the Manila Declaration of 1980 states that:

The satisfaction of tourism requirements must not be prejudicial to the social and economic interests of the population in tourist areas, to the environment, or above all, to the natural resources, which are the fundamental attraction of tourism and historical and cultural sites (WTO 1985).

The WTO in its 1988 report “*Tourism to the year 2000*” envisaged greater attention being paid by host governments, tourism developers and operators, to the principles of sustainable tourism, “leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems” (WTO 1988 in Goodwin 1996:283). These principles, among others were further espoused in the Hague Declaration on Tourism (WTO 1989). Similarly, the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) code for environmentally responsible tourism calls on its members to adopt an environmental ethic, which “enhances long term profitability, product sustainability, and intergenerational equity”

⁸ “The protection, enhancement and improvement of the various components of man’s (*sic*) environment are among the fundamental conditions for the harmonious development of tourism. Similarly, rational management of tourism may contribute to a large extent to protecting and developing the physical environment and the cultural heritage as well as improving the quality of life” (WTO and UNEP 1982 in Drost 1996:481).

(PATA 1992 in Goodwin 1996:283). The first World Conference on Sustainable Tourism was held in 1995, and adopted a Charter on Sustainable Tourism which applies the recommendations of the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. The (Lanzarote) Charter asserts that tourism development should be based on criteria of sustainability: “it must be ecologically sound in the long term, economically viable, as well as ethically and socially equitable for the local communities” (WTO 1995 in Goodwin 1996:284).

Despite this apparent welcome for the principles of sustainability by the tourism sector, it must be noted, however, such charters and codes have no binding effect upon their members and signatories, and in themselves are certainly no guarantee of sustainable approaches being adopted towards to tourism. As Hall (1991:112) notes, in reference to sustainable development, “the design, planning and management of tourism environments will require more than the simplistic adoption of codes and guidelines”.⁹ However, they do illustrate some awareness within the tourism sector of the physical and social problems associated with tourism activity, and a willingness to at least flag these issues for its members.

2.4.1 Definitions of sustainable tourism development

A deceptively simple definition of sustainable tourism development, directly derived from the definition for sustainable development, is offered by Inskeep (1991 in Stewart 1993:204), who writes that sustainable tourism development can be thought of as “meeting the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future”. This, of course, offers the same ambiguities of the original: there are inherent difficulties involved in protecting a natural resource whilst enhancing future tourism opportunity reliant upon that resource. Likewise, there are inherent challenges posed in meeting the needs of *all* tourists and of heterogeneous host communities. This definition also poses problems in terms of what degree of protection is referred to, and over what time frame.

Bramwell and Lane’s (1993) description of sustainable tourism development is more involved, but just as problematic:

...an approach which involves working for the long term viability and quality of both human and natural resources. It is not anti-growth, but it acknowledges that there are limits to growth. These limits will vary from place to place and according to management practices. It recognises that for many places, tourism was, is and will be an important form of development. It seeks to ensure that tourism developments are sustainable in the long term and wherever possible help in turn to sustain areas in which they operate. And for good measure, sustainable tourism also aims to increase visitor satisfaction (Bramwell and Lane 1993:79).

⁹ Lyster (1985 in Hall 2000:113) describes how similar ‘soft’ international law can be ineffective, referring to the World Heritage Convention, as a “sleeping treaty”.

Bramwell and Lane's approach may be summarised as "an approach intended to reduce tensions and friction between tourist, resident and the tourist industry" (Bramwell and Lane 1993:79). It is a pragmatic approach, favouring balance and compromise. Unfortunately, the inherent problem with this interpretation is, that it could be seen, by its emphasis on the tourist, the resident and the tourist industry, to be favouring the human resource at the expense of the natural resource. By accepting, implicitly that there would be some situations where tourism would continue its *unsustainable* practices, this definition is not likely to appeal to the full range of tourism stakeholders.

Jafari (1995:959) reporting on the First World Conference on Sustainable Tourism, 1995, organised by UNEP, WTO and others, defines tourism as being sustainable "when its development and operation include participation of the local population, protection of the total environment, fair economic return for the industry and its host community, as well as mutual respect for, and gratification of all involved parties". Again problems arise with this definition: for example, in defining a "fair economic return". Also it may be unrealistic to expect mutual respect and gratification for all parties.

Not surprisingly, sustainable tourism development also has a variety of interpretations, among its practitioners and interest groups. McKercher (1993) analysed policy statements and publications relating to sustainability, from the tourism industry and conservation movements in Australia. He found that the tourism industry, like many forms of business, advocated a development-oriented approach, as opposed to the conservation movement, which adopted a biocentric approach, which focuses on ecological preservation. Thus sustainable tourism development, as interpreted by industry, could be used to introduce incompatible urban or commercial activities into tourism areas, resulting in the degradation of the resource base. On the other hand, McKercher believes that the conservation movement (in Australia) is using ecological sustainability as a means to support the introduction of a number of "pernicious" land use policies, that would limit or exclude tourism activities from large areas of public lands (McKercher 1993:131). Either approach, he notes, can effectively have the same result, being the displacement of viable tourism operations and loss of the resource base (either by degradation or through legislation).

2.4.2 The requirements of implementation

While tourism is an activity that fits in easily to the sustainable development concept, there is no empirical data to substantiate claims of sustainability of tourism (Butler 1993). And, it appears that the problems surrounding the concept have a flow-on effect in attempts to define and agree upon 'levels' of development, and to control development (Butler 1991). Indeed, achieving agreement on an appropriate level of development, and the variety of definitions of

sustainable tourism development are problematic and may even mitigate against consensus based action. In addition, there are problems associated with ascertaining whether or not the concept has been genuinely accepted and incorporated into the activities of tourist stakeholders. Mercer (1996), in examining natural resource conflict issues in Australia, believes that the concept of sustainable tourism development, along with sustainability in general, is only adopted by business coalitions [such as tourism industry associations] for public relations reasons. Their goal is not actually sustainable tourism development at all. What results from this, is poor policy and disjointed decisions. As evidence, Mercer cites the destruction resulting from the continued rapid development of tourism in Australia.

The implementation of sustainable tourism development is also said to be impeded by certain structural realities. For example, one of the practical problems of implementation is the fragmented nature of the tourism sector, and the role of small and medium sized businesses (Butler 1991). It may be possible to reach agreement on sustainability in broad terms at the national level, but problems of consensus at the micro-level of the tourism enterprise are compounded by the nature of the sector. For example, D'Amore (1992) notes that success in the implementation of sustainable tourism development in Canada, a nation which has formally adopted sustainable development as a goal at the national level, will still depend on the degree of implementation by the 60,000-plus tourism related enterprises there. Similarly, McKercher (1993) points out the structural problems of implementing sustainable tourism development in Australia, which has over 40,000 tourism businesses, and where there is no clear industry leader. Are these insurmountable obstacles or merely issues requiring the implementation of comprehensive sectoral and inter-sectoral planning practices?

With regard to control of the level of development, Stewart (1993) notes that experience has shown that the condition of sustainable tourism development is *not* self regulating. Rather, it must be planned for, regulated and managed by communities and governments. Regulation is an important part of developing sustainable tourism, along with education (Drost 1996). One could characterise these approaches as 'carrot and stick', both of which, Drost argues, are necessary and ultimately complementary. Butler (1991) in describing the Royal hunting reserves of a thousand or more years ago, notes two key ingredients for the success of this early example of sustainable tourism development. First, the low level of usage; and secondly, Draconian enforcement. Obviously, major changes have occurred in both of these parameters over the years. Visitor numbers to these 'reserves' have increased dramatically, and the beheading of unruly tourists or tourism developers is no longer considered to be a regulatory option today.

In addition to its subjectivity, and the practical aspects of regulation, commentators also question certain other aspects of applying the concept. Mannion (1992) suggests that “what is sustainable is sustainable only for one time and one place” (Mannion 1992 in Cater 1995:25). Along with the significant issue of scale, the issue of a planning timeframe is important. Butler (1995) questions the temporal context of sustainable tourism, asking what is the temporal context - 25 years, 50 years, 100 years? Within the literature, this factor is largely ignored, the temporal limits of sustainable tourism development are vaguely referred to as “long term”, and seldom by the term “forever”. It is apparent, therefore that the implementation of the concept is complicated by its multi-dimensional nature, possessing dimensions not only of value, but also of time and space.

2.4.3 Successful and unsuccessful examples of implementation

There are few studies of the actual implementation of sustainable tourism development. This is perhaps reflective of the difficulties associated with operationalising the concept, and in identifying manifestations of the concept, along with empirical difficulties associated with measuring and evaluating its implementation. Some research highlights the initial problem of reaching consensus on the meaning of the term: Coccossis (1996) notes progress in Europe towards sustainable tourism development, reporting that tourism is recognised by the European Union (EU) as one of the priority areas for attention. The author notes, however, the wide margin of interpretation regarding sustainable tourism, listing economic sustainability of tourism, ecological sustainability of tourism, sustainable tourism development, and “tourism as a part of a strategy for sustainable development”, as all being distinct interpretations, with correspondingly different manifestations, and no accepted objective measure available to evaluate the ‘success’ of the implementation (Coccossis 1996:9).

Ioannides (1995:591) describes what he refers to as a “flawed implementation of sustainable tourism”, from Cyprus, providing an example of where ecotourism was not sustainable. He believes that “too often, governments adopt sustainable tourism development without clear strategies regarding what it entails or how it can be implemented”. This essential point is also recognised by Hall and McArthur (1996), who in discussing sustainable tourism for heritage sites, note the importance of having a strategic planning framework, identifying goals and objectives.

However, some have identified what they consider to be examples of successful implementation. Owen et al (1993) consider that their study of the Wales Tourist Board, which examines the application of sustainable tourism development through an analysis of policies and partnerships, and through three case studies, demonstrates that sustainable

tourism development *can* be realised. In another study, Hughes (1995), provides an overview of a Scottish Tourist Board initiative to promote sustainable tourism in local projects, and cites this as an example of co-operation among different tourism agencies to achieve sustainable tourism. However, contrary to their claims, neither of the above studies provides concrete evidence that sustainable tourism development has even been approached, yet alone achieved. They provide little in terms of indicators of sustainability, apart perhaps from the degree of co-operation among tourism agencies and the number of times the word “sustainable” appears within the agencies’ documents. Whilst these factors provide clues, they are not comprehensive indicators of sustainability. They do, however, reinforce the meta-scale significance of sustainability.

2.4.4 Measuring progress towards sustainable tourism

Unfortunately, there are only emerging examples evident in the literature of analyses of the state of sustainable tourism (e.g. Wight 1998; Zeppel 1998). Difficulties in this respect relate to the lack of widely agreed upon methods of measuring the implementation of sustainability, and the wide range of values that sustainability represents (Wight 1998). These issues, whilst acknowledged by Boyd (2000), have not discouraged him from developing a sustainability framework that will allow managers of protected areas to compare their areas using sustainability attributes identified for a wider protected area system. Aligned to this framework is a set of useful criteria that identify components of sustainable development in terms of principles, planning and management (Boyd and Butler 1997 in Boyd 2000:176). Furthermore, research by Boyd (2000) into the perceptions of sustainable tourism for national parks, has been useful in that it has demonstrated a relatively high degree of consistency between different (but not conflictual) ‘expert’ groups. This result could be seen in a positive light, in that perhaps the distances between stakeholders and their perceptions of what is meant by sustainability may not be unbridgeable after all.

In summary, it is apparent that the goal of sustainable tourism is an elusive one. Cater (1995) notes however, that recognising the types of conflict that occur in the process, along with making compromises, are essential steps towards attaining more sustainable outcomes. Any attempts to achieve sustainable tourism development should be a major improvement upon the past, where environmental considerations were not necessarily incorporated into decision making at all.

2.4.5 The application of sustainable tourism to protected natural areas

It has become apparent from the earlier discussion in this chapter that tourism within protected natural areas such as national parks often has a conflictual relationship – conflictual in the sense that the underlying principles or values guiding the functions of parks, ‘utility’ and

‘sanctity’ are antithetical. Sustainable development has been proffered as a tool to try to integrate different interests and values in contentious resource management issues such as this. Indeed, as Boyd (2000) points out, sustainability is a concept that should fit well with the goals of protected area management.

However, the aims of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development are to combine economic growth with environmental concerns: to ‘sustain’ and to ‘develop’. Or to put it in other words, to protect or provide ‘sanctity’ and to utilise or provide ‘utility’. Semantics aside, it appears that the simultaneous goals or ideals of sustainable tourism development are the very ideals that have led to the conflictual relationship of tourism in national parks. Although the common perception is that sustainable development will result in increased emphasis on protection, it is arguable that the concept in fact may detract from preservation simply because it lends credence to development or ‘use’ of protected areas.

What sustainable development *does* appear to offer to this policy domain, at least in the eyes of government and some stakeholders, are some underlying operational principles, that may go some way towards addressing the ideological gap between sustaining ecological values in parks (providing sanctity) and developing tourism in parks (providing utility). These principles include the integration of different sectoral interests, the inclusion of all stakeholders, and fostering of a collaborative planning process for stakeholders. However, some operational problems with sustainable development have been identified, and it has been identified as a problematic organising concept for tourism planning. Principle concerns lie with:

- Reaching consensus among stakeholders over what sustainability means
- Ascertaining whether or not economic interests are genuine in their adoption of the concept
- Incorporating and operationalising the concept within existing or new policy and planning structures
- Regulating tourism development so that it remains within sustainable levels
- Monitoring progress towards sustainability

The reader may have left the preceding discussion with grave doubts about the usefulness of the concept of sustainability, and consequently one might be tempted to ditch the concept. It appears that this option is only possible within academia. That is, while the concept does not stand up to academic scrutiny (e.g. it is ill-defined and ambiguous) the reality is that it is now embraced or has become a “common-sense” concept which has shaped policy debate both internationally and locally in the tourism and environmental policy fields. It is for this reason that this study will further explore the operationalisation of sustainable tourism development, as it is no longer just a concept, but has become a “principle” - guiding or not guiding (as the case may be) action in this domain.

2.4.6 The role of governments in sustainable tourism development

The previous discussion alluded to the potential role of government in the operationalisation of sustainable development. However, in the light of assertions that governments are subjugating the goals of sustainable tourism development through their pursuit of economic goals, and presumably ignoring environmental goals (Cater 1995), then it becomes very important to more closely analyse the role of the state with respect to tourism and sustainable tourism. While it is generally accepted that the state does have a role with respect to sustainable tourism (e.g. WTO 1985, WTO 1995), what does this role comprise?

Traditionally the state has been seen to have a significant role in providing a framework within which tourism operates. The International Union for Official Tourism Organisations (IUOTO) outlines what it sees as the role of the state, which includes creating a suitable framework for the promotion and development of tourism (IUOTO 1974 in Hall and Jenkins 1995a). This role is refined somewhat by the OECD (1984:84) who see the public sector's role as "defining, providing for, planning and guaranteeing [tourism] plus safeguarding tourist and host interests". The private sector is seen to have a primary role in selling tourist services and providing the tourist facilities. In addition, the voluntary sector is also seen to have a number of roles in "provision, promotion, protection and conservation" (OECD 1984:84). The World Tourism Organisation, in outlining the roles of government with respect to tourism, also stress the state's role in safeguarding and protecting nature (WTO 1993).

Hall (2000) provides a more detailed breakdown of the functions of government in tourism, grouping them into a "protective" role, including: co-ordination; planning; legislation and regulation; public interest protector; and social tourism, and a "promotional" role, where the government is responsible for stimulation and promotion of the industry along with acting as an entrepreneur. Obviously, while generally these roles are complementary, there is potential for conflict to arise, for example when governments attempt to maximise touristic returns from natural or cultural resources, without adequate safeguards for the protection of those resources. In these circumstances, the importance of the co-ordination, planning, legislative and regulatory functions is paramount.

Indeed, a number of authors assert that such a legislative/regulatory framework, and the development of appropriate policies and measures is an essential component for the implementation of sustainable tourism (e.g. Jafari 1995). Similarly, Stewart (1993) emphasises the need for governments to plan, regulate and manage tourism, in the quest for sustainable tourism development.

Some researchers, however, question the responsibility of government in implementing sustainable tourism development. Middleton (in Hunter-Jones 1996: 477) questions whether a “top-down” approach, government initiated and planned, or a “bottom-up” approach, destination devised and self regulated, should be adopted. The answer is that different approaches may suit individual circumstances, and that often an integrated approach will be the best solution.

2.4.7 Calls for a reduced state role

Despite a widely held view that the state should participate actively in many aspects of tourism, there have also been recent calls from some interests for less state involvement in certain areas - particularly the environmental regulation of tourism activities. These calls may be contextualised as part of the prevailing free market ideology. Plimmer (1992), a proponent of this view, notes that there is an emerging literature that indicates that managing tourist growth in environmentally sensitive areas should no longer depend on regulation. Plimmer claims that regulation is too “command and control” oriented to meet the needs of either tourism or the environment, putting the question that central planning doesn’t work for economies, so why should it work for ecologies? (Plimmer 1992:122). He goes on to describe the virtues of non-regulatory methods of managing tourism development, including the market, self-control, and negotiation. These assertions, however, are not broadly reflected in the tourism literature, and are matched by arguments *against* the relaxation of planning controls. Hanzah for example, believes that relaxation of planning controls implicitly prioritises short-term economic objectives over longer term environmental goals (Hanzah 1995 in Holden 1995:173). Other criticisms of market control, relate to a lack of rapid feedback from customers to producers, with tourism market responses being too slow to prevent irreparable damage to resources (Ashworth 1995).¹⁰ Thus Plimmer’s free market assertions fly in the face of wider calls for greater state participation in at least the broader policy setting stages for the tourism/environment domain.

2.4.8 The State role of co-ordination

Part of the state’s role in providing the framework for tourism, is a role of co-ordination of policy. The IUOTO (in Hall 1994:32) recognises this role, admittedly from the viewpoint of maximising returns from tourism, and calls for governments to “harmonise and co-ordinate all tourist activities”. Similarly, Hall (1994) believes that the role of government in co-ordination is probably their most important, “because the successful implementation of all other roles will

¹⁰ Ashworth (1995:59) also notes that the customer may experience no diminution in the quality of their tourism experience, but through their visit, is causing long-term damage to the site. He also asks how we can apply a free market commodification model in the absence of an efficiently operating pricing mechanism - “when many of the heritage resources are unpriced, inadequately priced or indirectly priced?”.

depend on the ability of government to co-ordinate and balance their various roles in the tourism development process” (Hall 1994:32). He refers to the need for a co-ordinated tourism strategy as “one of the great truisms of tourism policy and planning” (Hall 1994:32).

Hall is critical of the imprecise way in which the issue of co-ordination (which he classifies as either administrative co-ordination or policy co-ordination) has been approached. Hall notes that co-ordination may occur in a very loose fashion and may not require formal arrangements (Parker 1978 in Hall 1994:33). However, recent work by Parker (1999) indicates that when the collaboration process is *too* informal, this has undermined efforts to achieve sustainable tourism. Furthermore, although it has also been observed that conflict, rather than co-operation, may have value in producing new ideas and approaches to problems (e.g. Tremblay 2000), it is acknowledged that the continued calls for tourism co-ordination are indicative of issues within the sector that may require administrative and policy attention and collaborative solutions (Hall 1994).

One such issue is the integration of environmental concerns into tourism planning. The OECD’s Council on Environment and Tourism called for member countries to formulate national policies and national tourist plans, and to “fully integrate environmental considerations, at the earliest possible stage, in their tourism development policies and strategies, in order to ensure that the development of tourism is in keeping with the conservation of environmental quality” (OECD 1980:11). The OECD also charges governments with the role of ensuring that environmental considerations are taken into account by public authorities as well as tourist organisations and enterprises.

2.4.9 Role of co-ordination in sustainable development and sustainable tourism development

Given that the state has an identifiable role in the co-ordination of tourism development, and the management of its externalities, how important is this role with respect to the implementation of sustainable tourism? Many writers assert the need for co-ordination if sustainable development is to be achieved. Indeed, this view has been evident from the outset, for example, being espoused in the Brundtland report:

Sectoral organisations tend to pursue sectoral objectives and to treat their impacts on other sectors as side effects, taken into account only if compelled to do so...many of the environmental problems that confront us have their roots in this sectoral fragmentation of responsibility. Sustainable development requires that such fragmentation be overcome (WCED 1987:63).

It follows that integrated policy planning is required for successful implementation of sustainable development. Acknowledging that sustainable tourism development is a sub

branch of sustainable development (Bramwell and Lane 1993), it follows that integrated planning should be one of the basic principles of sustainable tourism planning.¹¹ Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry notes that while single organisations can make significant improvements, the aim of sustainable tourism development will only be achieved through co-operation between all those involved, and that the quality of the partnerships developed by organisations will dictate the success of their sustainable tourism initiatives (WTTC et al 1995). As Parker (1999) points out, a major stumbling block with the implementation of sustainable tourism is that in the tourism sector (perhaps more so than other industries), there are multiple stakeholders, yet none has the breadth of knowledge, power, or legitimacy to initiate the required system-wide solutions. Thus the value of partnerships, however, the value of such partnerships, will in part depend upon organisations subscribing to the principles of compromise (between interests), commitment (to the principle of sustainability), and co-operation (Owen 1991).

Many have noted that in particular, greater inter-sector co-operation is a requirement, through policies and processes that foster communication and decision making (Wall 1990; Gunn 1994). The need to make tourism planning part of a cross-sectoral and co-ordinated approach to development and conservation at a variety of levels, national, regional and local, has also been stressed: "Tourism planning, development and operation should be in the spirit of sustainable development in being cross-sectoral and integrated, involving different government agencies, private corporations, citizens groups and individuals..." (Nelson 1990:53).

Bramwell and Lane (2000) outline a number of ways that collaborative approaches among the above stakeholders may help to further the causes of sustainable tourism. Importantly, they consider that inclusion of non-economic interests (such as those listed above) may promote greater consideration of the conservation requirements of natural and cultural resources involved in tourism, as well as greater consideration of social issues. Participation of all tourism interests should raise the awareness of tourism impacts on all stakeholders, and consequently lead to better policies. Also, more collaborative policy making could democratise tourism decision making and empower participants.

However, not all interests will perceive benefits from other stakeholders being empowered, and it is recognised that that institution building along with co-operation and co-ordination between parties will be the greatest challenges for sustainability (WCED 1987; Harris and

¹¹ Hall and McArthur (1998:18) define "integrated planning" as "an interactive or collaborative approach which requires participation and interaction between the various levels of an organisation or unit of governance and between the responsible organisation and the stakeholders in the planning process to realise horizontal and vertical partnerships within the planning process".

Leiper 1995). Considering the difficulties posed simply by the range of tourism interests and their diverse positions, what are some of the appropriate mechanisms through which co-ordination may be achieved?

First, it is helpful if sustainability, is high on the agenda of government policy and that policies of sustainable tourism development are included in all national and local tourism development agreements (WTO 1983; de Kadt 1990). Although co-operation between governmental agencies (e.g. environment ministry, tourism ministry, economic ministry) is seen as important (Filho 1996:67), the role of a range of stakeholders is seen to be critical to achieve sustainable tourism development, and ideally all stakeholders should be incorporated in the decision making process. Leadership is important, and Nelson (1990) proposes the development of a conservation or sustainable development strategy for tourism, ideally led by the national tourism organisation, and co-ordinated with the many public and private sector interest groups, as well as with a broader sustainable development strategy for the nation.

Nelson then advocates the use of co-ordinating committees or other means to relate industries to one another, to link public and private sectors, to co-ordinate the development of infrastructure, and to consider both short and long term issues (Nelson 1990). This approach is supported by the World Tourism Organisation which outlines the roles of governments in supporting sustainable tourism, suggesting that governments create tourism advisory boards that involve stakeholders such as the indigenous peoples, NGOs and others (WTO 1993). National Tourism Organisations, because they have traditionally been responsible for marketing, planning and advising central government on travel and tourism issues, are seen to have a key role in facilitating the partnerships necessary for sustainable tourism planning and implementation (WTTC 1995). However, representative trade organisations and other government departments are also seen to have a facilitating role.

The types of structures used to achieve the level of co-ordination required for sustainable tourism development are important, but so too is a knowledge of the organisational culture and the attitudes of participants in advancing integration (Mitchell 1990). To facilitate integration, the concept has to be given legitimacy and credibility by those involved in the process, and organisational culture and attitudes can inhibit integration. However, this task may be especially difficult when there has been a history of disagreement or conflict among organisations over acceptable forms and levels of tourism at destinations. Such conflict is often the case within the protected area – tourism domain (Rollins 1993), thus emphasising the need for research in this area to consider the roles of organisational cultures and the individual values of key players within the policy arena.

Further, the sectoral dynamics of government administration provide the backdrop to any effort at implementing more sustainable development policies, and unfortunately, “Those working in sectoral agencies get few rewards for working with outsiders, so intersectoral collaboration is at a discount” (de Kadt 1990:26). This sectoral fragmentation is reinforced by compartmentalised working links between civil servants and enterprises in the sectors which their departments are supposed to regulate. In addition, specialised lobbies, their viewpoints and interests, influence the thinking of bureaucrats in their sector (de Kadt 1990).

Another potential problem, is that of each sector tending to be dominated by one particular professional or disciplinary group (Theuns 1989 in de Kadt 1990). Co-operation between such professional groups (and therefore sectors) is limited because the different nature of their original training leads to different perceptions of what problems are important. If there is a shortage of public servants knowledgeable on tourism issues, as Richter suggests, public administrators will tend to turn to the travel industry for advice (Richter 1983 in de Kadt), thereby again narrowing the scope of the input to policy, as the travel industry is hardly a disinterested party. As Harrison notes, “in practice, policies are decided and implemented from particular points of view, furthering the perceived interests of some at the expense of others” (Harrison 1996:84).

2.4.10 The role of interest groups

Although the above focus is on co-ordination among government agencies, all stakeholders should ideally be involved in the decision making process. NGOs and other interest groups are said to have an important role in the implementation of sustainable development - indeed, some work on the role of NGOs has indicated that environmental NGOs have already played a significant role in fulfilling the first priority of the Brundtland Commission, that is, by establishing the environment on the political agenda (Sewell, Dearden and Dumbrell 1989).

The next step is for these interests to gain access to the policy process. Bramwell et al (1996) note that one of the principles behind sustainable tourism is that all stakeholders need to be consulted and empowered in tourism decision making. The state is allocated a role in achieving such access, as proposed by the WCED in 1987:

...[the State shall provide] a political system that secures effective participation in decision making... [the State shall] inform in a timely manner all persons likely to be significantly effected by a planned activity and ... grant them equal access and due process in administrative and judicial proceedings (Hunter and Green 1995:56)¹²

¹² See also Mowforth and Munt (1998)

More specifically, for tourism, Inskeep (1991) identifies the roles of NGOs in sustainable tourism planning. For example, “NGOs should be a part of sustainable tourism advisory boards at all levels of government and /or industry, and offer input into sustainable tourism planning and development...NGOs should be encouraged to identify and communicate to the appropriate agencies those issues relating to sustainable tourism” (Inskeep 1991:464) (see also Singh 1999; Connolly 1999; Timothy 2000). Similarly, the “Charter for Sustainable Tourism” adopted at the World Conference on Sustainable Tourism in 1995, calls for “...the participation of NGOs and local communities” to undertake integrated planning for sustainable tourism (WTO 1995 in Mowforth and Munt 1998:301). In particular, interest groups are seen to have an important role in environmentally susceptible destinations such as protected areas: “The crisis of modernity that challenges planetary sustainability lends further social responsibility to environmental groups in ecologically sensitive destinations” (Jamal 1999:7).

The importance of NGOs in sustainable tourism is perhaps reflected in the attendance of approximately 500 NGOs at the United Nations Commission for Sustainable Development sponsored meeting on sustainable tourism held in New York in 1999 (Wood 1999). Although this success may reflect the recognition given by international bodies to the role of NGOs, have national governments been similarly receptive? Given the potentially important role of such a broad range of interests, to what extent have governments, as foci for policy making, heeded calls for a more inclusive and co-ordinated approach to tourism planning?

2.4.11 How has the state performed in co-ordinating tourism policy?

To examine the extent to which recommendations for co-ordination have been taken on board by governments, Michaud (1980) gathered information from OECD and other countries on policies and practices regarding tourism and environmental planning. Michaud’s focus is on the national level, because at this level, he argues, awareness of environmental issues and the need for careful planning is greatest, and it is here that policies are framed and measures are decided (Michaud 1980). The resulting analysis is critical of policy and implementation, noting that although most countries have physical planning instruments, and many means of protecting the environment, most have “very little in the way of a real tourism development strategy with an environmental character” (Michaud 1980:73). It was also noted that most environmental protection policies have a limited anticipatory character, which is crucial in the field of tourism where policies “need to be very forward-looking” (Michaud 1980:77).

In a study of the role of state tourism organisations in Australia, Jenkins (1993) notes that achieving a co-ordinated approach has been problematic, attributing this to issues of power among the agencies concerned. But whilst power is undoubtedly one factor contributing to the

lack of co-ordination in the tourism sector, and the protected area tourism domain in particular, a range of the other factors are also relevant. For example, legislation and policy, and the traditional mandates of key stakeholders may serve to facilitate or inhibit co-ordination. Organisational cultures and professional bias may contribute towards conflict being a relatively intractable, attitudinal issue. Furthermore, the role of interest groups, who have a role as an irritant or catalyst for change, is potentially significant. These issues will be discussed below within the context of protected natural area tourism.

2.5 Sustainable tourism development and protected natural areas

It is now timely to explore the obstacles to the implementation of sustainable tourism practices in protected natural areas. In particular, how do the sustainable development principles of integration, inclusion and collaboration work in practice? And by exploring what sustainable development means to practitioners it will become apparent how their definitions inform action in the policy arena and in the management of tourism within protected areas.

The Brundtland Report calls for a new approach to development and environmental protection, which includes the protection of species and ecosystems as a prerequisite for sustainable development (WCED 1987). Given that the world's protected natural areas (and especially national parks) play an indispensable role in the protection of species and ecosystems, the need for a sustainable approach to protected area management is necessary. Is the sustainability concept already catered for in current protected area legislation and policy approaches?

Woodley (1993) argues that utilitarian and exploitative approaches to resource management rather than sustainable approaches, continue to dominate in national park management, citing as evidence, the fact that the number of visitors to parks is generally seen as a critical measure of success of park management. He argues that for park tourism to be sustainable, ecosystem limits must be put ahead of economic returns, and there must be limits to both the kinds and intensity of uses in parks. Woodley outlines the pre-requisites for sustainability in protected natural areas, including among them, clear objectives and the power to manage activities in these areas. However, the problem of defining sustainability for parks is overwhelming because as described above, this varies from national to regional to local level and is defined differently by stakeholders according to their particular perspective. Butler (1993) describes the hypothetical situation whereby Banff National Park, at a *national* level and from an economic point of view, may be seen as being healthy or sustainable, as it continues to attract visitors. But at a *local* level, Banff may be seen as overrun by visitors, and tourism seen as

being unsustainable or incompatible with park objectives. The issue of scale is therefore extremely significant, both geographically and in terms of the range of criteria for which sustainability is being assessed.

Ross et al (1995) in discussing the vagaries of the sustainable development concept, note the advantages of having the concept clearly defined within relevant legislation. They describe how Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) has the role of promoting/providing for sustainable development included within its legislation. The advantages of such an approach are that SNH when making decisions on land use, do not have to rely solely on arguments linked to the impact of an activity on the landscape or natural conservation, but can now consider whether the proposed activity is both “needed and sustainable” (Ross et al. 1995:238). Yet, ironically, sustainable development in this Scottish legislation is not defined - thus implementation is effectively compromised.

2.5.1 Co-ordination in the protected area - tourism domain

Do national parks, with their multiplicity of issues and broad stakeholder interest propose a special problem for the implementation of co-ordinated planning for tourism? Hunter and Green (1995) note that partnership is particularly important in areas of tourism activity that involve a number of agencies and interests – such is the case for tourism in national parks. And Nelson specifically refers to the need for co-ordinating measures in the planning for tourism in national parks and other protected areas (Nelson 1990).

Given the longstanding nature of the issues of conflict and lack of co-ordination in the protected area – tourism domain, it is surprising that few works have focused specifically on the relationship between tourism organisations and protected area managers. A limited number of case studies do highlight the above issues however.

One such study (Wells 1993) examines the problem of environmental impacts of tourism in Nepal’s protected areas. This research suggests that the current problems being experienced are due partly to conflicts of interest between four perspectives: the conservation interest - the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation; the national economic interest - The Ministry of Finance; the economic aspirations of locals; and tourism interests - the Ministry of Tourism. Wells notes that there is little or no co-ordination between the government’s conservation and tourism interests. So apart from being a good example of where integrated, collaborative planning could be beneficial, it would also appear to be a case where an enhanced government involvement in tourism planning, through regulation could mitigate environmental impacts. For example, the Ministry of National Parks has no power to regulate

the numbers of activities or treks. Similarly, the Ministry of Tourism has no power to regulate or monitor the activities of tourists.

Such dilemmas are not limited to developing nations however. In a study of tourism within national parks of Australia, Moore and Carter (1993) identify similar conflicts and lack of co-ordination between tourism and natural resource managers, describing impacts such as the degradation of resources along access areas within parks. The problem in Australia, they believe, lies in the current and predicted rates of growth in tourist numbers, along with an aggressive promotional stance on the part of the former Australian Tourism Industry Association (ATIA) and some state tourism organisations. For example, the ATIA talked of the difference between receiving 4.8 million and 6.5 million international visitors (their target), as being the gap between “a mediocre performance and striving for excellence” (ATIA 1990 in Moore and Carter 1993:124). Similarly, the Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation talk positively of exponential tourism growth for Queensland. Meanwhile, national park managers in Australia describe their inability to cope with increasing park numbers, and resent the emphasis given to visitors at the expense of nature conservation (Wearing and Brock 1991). Tourism in the natural environment has been characterised by the marketing of resources without acknowledgement of the impacts on resources that visitation can create. The converse impact of natural resource management decisions upon the tourism industry may also be significant: “simply put, resource managers tend to approach the question of [tourist] numbers from ‘the fewer the better’ perspective, whilst the tourism industry tends to favour ‘the more the merrier’” (Moore and Carter 1993:127).

The above examples well illustrate the need for greater co-ordination and understanding between tourism and conservation interests. But the issue of co-ordination and co-operation raises a number of issues, for example: the identification of key stakeholders that require co-ordination; the assignment of the role of co-ordinating; and, identifying, in this age of state devolution and withdrawal, if the state has a role in providing a framework for this new collaboration.

2.5.2 National tourism organisations

Hall and McArthur (1996) note that tourism organisations are one of the many organisations involved in management of protected areas, through their pursuit of economic objectives and through the promotion of tourism within these areas. Indeed, the involvement of public agencies in tourism promotion is seen to be one of the contributing factors to environmental planning problems, with the increased demand for access to natural areas, because of extensive marketing and promotion campaigns, being one of the causes of poorly planned management compromises in parks (Fagence 1990; Buckley 1996; Wells 1996).

National Tourism Organisations in particular are identified as key actors in influencing the environmental assets of a destination, through their single minded role of attracting tourists (Buhalis and Fletcher 1995:14). The situation in Canada during the 1970s provides a perfect illustration of the approach of NTOs, and of the lack of co-ordination between agencies. This was a period when the Canadian Parks Service was facing strong and widespread criticism of its visitor management due to increased visitor pressure on parks, however, Canadian national parks continued to be promoted as international tourism destinations by other Canadian federal government departments such as the Canadian Government Travel Bureau (Payne and Graham 1993; Minca and Draper 1996)

It is pertinent to examine the mandate of tourism organisations at this point as their mandates cast them into roles that may be at odds with the goals of sustainable tourism, and thus impact upon their relationships within the domain. Since the early 1970s, the number of visits to protected areas has grown dramatically and will continue to grow as tourist authorities increasingly market nature based or ecotourism activities. This has implications for the quality of the resource - the national parks and other protected areas, which are the focus of such activities.

2.5.3 Changes afoot in national tourism organisations?

National tourism organisations (NTOs), along with their regional and local counterparts, Regional Tourism Organisations have traditionally been the main players in tourism promotion and policy. NTOs exist in various forms, and this variety of configurations, of course, poses difficulties in terms of comparing and analysing their roles. NTOs in general, though, are one type of tourism organisation that has been considerably impacted by the neo-conservative political agenda that has dominated many western nations in recent years (Hall 1999). A desire to reduce public debt and to increase the commercial efficiency of public enterprises, coupled with a philosophy that promulgates the advantages of privatisation, have driven changes to many government organisations involved in tourism. The effects of the above macro-economic strategies are intensified when coupled with the dictates of international competition (Williams and Shaw 1998). The resultant tendency to privatise and commercialise traditional government functions, has affected the structure and role of NTOs, and by extension the way that national governments are involved in the tourism industry (Hall 1999). Under the previous public administration model, governments sought to implement government policy for a perceived public good. However, under the corporatist model now in vogue, efficacy, returns on investment and the role of the market are paramount. Faced with this “ideological onslaught from the right” the capacity of the state to intervene on behalf of any tourism programmes has been seriously constrained (Williams and Shaw 1998).

The implications of the restructuring of governments' involvement in tourism have been documented in a number of regional studies including those undertaken in, Australia (Craik 1991; Hall 1995; Jenkins 2000), New Zealand (Pearce 1992; Dorne 2000), Canada (Hall and Jenkins 1995b; Jenkins 1995) the U.K. (Richards 1995) and the U.S.A. (Bonham and Mak 1996). For example, in Australia and Canada, NTOs have been corporatised, with a greater emphasis given to private sector partnerships for marketing (Hall and Jenkins 1995b). And in Europe, there is evidence that the state has tended to withdraw from active intervention in tourism (Williams and Shaw 1998).

One aspect of these changes has been what has been described as a "closing up" of the policy process (Hall and Jenkins 1995b) that has now become dominated by business interests to the detriment of other interests. Ironically, it is a corporatist emphasis on partnerships (related to developments in management theory that have promulgated strategic planning, collaboration and network development (Hall 1999)) that has lead to this perceived imbalance of participants and under-representation of the wider public interest. This raises questions about the NTOs' abilities to facilitate an integrated (inclusive and collaborative) planning process, and the extent to which the policy process may lead to outcomes that are in the public interest and contribute to sustainability, rather than just meeting business interests (Hall 1999:285).

2.5.4 The many functions of national tourism organisations

However, as noted above, NTOs do differ in their structure and roles. Pearce (1992) describes tourism organisations using the variables of scale, function, and the extent of public-private partnership in their operation: some NTOs appear to differ little from private marketing agencies, apart from their sources of funding, which are usually public sector; some may be fully fledged government departments with a broad range of policy, regulatory and promotional roles, while others can be private sector dominated, producer interest groups, who in the manner of the neo-corporatist model, influence government policy, and employ government resources to help achieve business interest goals - primarily that of tourism promotion and growth (Richards 1995). Whilst Pearce (1992) examines co-ordination and interorganisational networks between tourism organisations in detail, this is primarily with respect to their roles of tourism marketing. Little attention is given to their relations with other organisations, nor the broader social and environmental roles that tourism organisations could be seen to have: for example, how marketing could be used to *reduce* tourism impacts (Jefferson and Lickorish 1991).

The traditional concern of NTOs is to increase the number of visitors as a measure of the economic contribution that tourism makes to the nation (Hall 1995 in Wells 1996). However,

few studies focus upon the broader range of functions that NTOs have been prescribed. One useful study is that of Baum (1994), who provides an overview of the roles of NTOs, identifying the functions of NTOs. Baum found that tourism marketing was the primary objective, followed by product development, and that the formal role of NTOs in tourism policy was limited.

Baum's research allowed the ranking of the main determinants of national tourism policies:

1. Foreign revenue generation
2. National employment
3. To improve regional/local economy
4. To create awareness of country
5. Local/regional employment
6. To support environmental/public conservation
7. To contribute to infrastructural development
8. To create international goodwill

NTOs were questioned about issues of concern relating to tourism, and although some concern was expressed about the effects of tourism on the environment, it appears that in general, this environmental concern has apparently not been transformed into tangible policy action; it is not reflected in the NTOs' functions, nor does it rank highly as a determinant of tourism policy. As Baum put it, NTOs make a "rather limited contribution...to meeting identified concerns within the tourism industry" (Baum 1994:191). Further research has confirmed the minimal policy attention paid by NTOs to environmental concerns in particular: Morrison et al (1995) undertook a study of 40 NTO offices in the USA, finding no evidence of environmental considerations in their marketing goals.

In relation to the WTO's (1993) prescribed government responsibilities for tourism, Choy (1993) argues that for a NTO to adopt all responsibilities would put it in conflict with itself, as NTOs have both a regulatory *and* promotional function. (Interestingly, this is comparable to the internal conflict inherent in the multiple responsibilities of natural area managers. In the case of the NTOs' however, their conflict has been resolved by a revised focus on promotion alone. It could be argued that in a similar manner, the roles of natural area managers be reconsidered, especially with respect to the provision and promotion of tourism). Rather than ascribing an abjuration of responsibilities on the part of NTOs, Choy acknowledges their argument, that with limited budgets, they must focus upon successfully achieving their key objectives. It is noted though, that NTOs should adjust to changing priorities in a destination over time. Choy suggests that in order to better facilitate the roles of government that have been deemed necessary regarding tourism, the private sector should assume total responsibility for the marketing role of NTOs. This would leave the NTOs free to assure supply and quality of services, and the monitoring and legislation necessary to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism. While this appears to be good argument, some caution is necessary, as to dissolve the

functional link between tourism promotion and impact (Moore and Carter 1993), may result in a loss of control over marketing potentially leading to unregulated and inappropriate promotion of destinations and consequent unacceptable levels of environmental impacts. But although it could be argued that some continued control over marketing on behalf of the state is desirable, how much control do NTOs as business-interest dominated semi-governmental organisations actually have over how destinations are marketed? And, as the above discussion reveals, there is little evidence to suggest that the state would be any more of a “responsible” marketer than the private sector, given the emphasis placed on economic objectives within tourism public policy.

2.5.5 Interest groups and their relationships with NTOs

Increasingly, as part of the trends discussed above, many NTOs have gained private sector components. The link between the private and public sector and the influence of business interests on tourism public policy through shaping the role and function of NTOs, potentially impacts upon the relationships between stakeholders in this domain, and upon co-ordination as a whole. Interest groups have been found to influence tourism policy in a number of ways, for example, through the formation of clientilistic “policy communities” with government bureaucracy (Greenwood 1992). Interest groups also assume an important role in both policy formulation and implementation, particularly in the tourism sector where there has been withdrawal by government in the 1980s and 1990s. There are advantages in this model (termed “private interest government” by Streeck and Schmitter (1985 in Greenwood 1992:237)) to both government (e.g. saving money) and the producer interest groups (e.g. self regulation). However, the appropriateness and consumer benefits of such an exclusive relationship between government and the tourism industry, to which the general public is not a party, have been questioned (Greenwood 1992; Jenkins 1993). The relationship between government and economic interests is described as being one of “power dependence” (Greenwood 1992:239), where the interests depend upon the government’s regulatory and legislative power, and the government depends upon the interest’s economic power and expert information. Note that in the above analysis, Greenwood distinguishes between “pressure groups”, which he describes as having a public or open relationship with the state, and “interest groups”, which are described as having a closed or private relationship with the state. Both types of group exert their power on the formulation of tourism policy through different means; and the means by which they influence policy vary with respect to their “visibility”.

In a study of national tourism policy in Britain, Richards (1995) provides an historical analysis of the development of tourism policy, stressing the links between tourism policy development and wider social, economic and political factors, such as the prevailing politico-economic ideology. He traces the development of the British Tourist Association (BTA) through its

various transformations from being private sector dominated to public sector dominated, and back to private sector dominated again. Following the period of “Thatcherism” in the 1980s, which was characterised by government “retreat”, the BTA’s role is now narrowly defined, being self described as one of delivering to its shareholder (the government) and to its commercial partners, “the best possible return on their investment” (BTA 1994 in Richards 1995:167). These changes have reflected changes in the prevailing ideologies over time. Looking at how different interest groups compete in the development of policy, and adopting Streeck and Schmitter’s (1985) model, Richards believes that in the case of British tourism policy, this model has taken the form of state and market interests being mediated through a “private interest group”, the BTA. As well as posing questions about the appropriateness of the above situation, Richards notes the irony (in terms of the current “free market” ideology) of the state being strongly involved in destination promotion (through funding), yet the continued resistance of tourism interests to state involvement in *regulation* of tourism development, which is viewed as interfering with the operation of the market. Not only the role of the state in regulation, but also its role in co-ordination come under question in the recently private sector dominated NTO arrangements.

2.5.6 Legislative background - the roles of heritage management agencies

We have observed that the mandates of one key stakeholder, the NTOs, potentially inhibits relations in this domain, both through their narrow nature, and through recent changes and omissions with respect to the state’s role in regulation and co-ordination. To what extent do the mandates of other key stakeholders, the heritage agencies contribute to relationships and co-ordination within the domain? Furthermore, what role do associated interest groups play in this respect?

It appears that the contentious mandate of the NTO is similarly the case for protected area management agencies, but more so. The policy environment concerning tourism within protected natural areas, and particularly national parks, is said to be inherently contradictory (Foresta 1984; Cawley and Freemuth 1993). The contradictory nature of the enabling legislation for many protected areas, with its dual emphasis on preservation and use, provides the context for the interaction between utilitarian and preservationist interests.^{13 14}

¹³ The National Parks legislation of the United States was the first in the world (1916), and was used as a model for other nations to follow e.g. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Therefore it is not surprising that the protected area legislation and policy of these countries also contains the inherent duality, of use and preservation, of the initial legislation.

¹⁴ Sadler (1989) talks of the contradictions of the dual mandate of Canada’s National Parks, saying that these contradictions did not become readily apparent until the 1960s - a period of escalating tourism within Canada’s parks. However, changes have been made to Canada’s parks legislation, and Rollins (1993) describes the 1988 amendments to the National Parks Act as being significant in clarifying the priority placed upon “ecological integrity” in parks.

In terms of the co-ordination of stakeholders, it is highly significant to recognise that not only is the legislative context ambiguous, but that the interpretation of protected area legislation has not remained static, and has changed quite radically over time. For example, in Canada, where the purpose of parks is defined in legislation as being for “benefit, education and enjoyment”, the term “enjoyment” was initially interpreted very broadly, so as to include a range of activities. As attitudes changed, to become more protective of the environment, the range of these activities was limited to outdoor recreation, then later still, these outdoor activities had to be minimum impact or non-consumptive (Eagles 1993). Dearden and Berg (1993:195) also note how the wording of Canada’s National Parks Act has given “considerable latitude for discretion by Minister and management staff” in formulating and implementing policy. A similar pattern has been observed in other jurisdictions, such as the United States (e.g. Foresta 1986; Freemuth 1991; Frome 1992).

2.5.7 Interest groups and ‘penetration’

This vagueness in legislation and policy, has also contributed to the ability of interest groups, through “administrative penetration” to influence decision making within parks (Dearden and Berg 1993:195). In Canada, various interest groups have attempted to influence decision making in their favour within the bounds set by legislation and policy. Dearden and Berg (1993) describe how the influence of three groups, [tourism] entrepreneurs, environmentalists and aboriginal peoples, has changed over time.¹⁵ These influences, particularly the change in the ‘balance of power’ between entrepreneurs and environmentalists, have had effects on tourism policy formulation and implementation within parks, and consequently on the type and extent of tourist developments there, and importantly, on relationships between these groups.

At any one location or period, a variety of interpretations exist among stakeholders of how policy is being interpreted and applied. This is illustrated in the literature concerning American national parks: Hummel (1987), coming from the development perspective, considers that the National Parks Service (NPS) management have tampered with the original intent of legislation, so that it no longer reflects the dual mandate, and that NPS management have tried to remove concessionaires (and therefore tourists) from parks. Arguing the opposite, and from a preservationist point of view, Frome (1992:188) believes that the NPS is not doing its duty of protection, and that concessionaires have “undue influence over NPS concession management policies”, that don’t adequately protect the parks interests. This view is

¹⁵ Based on an analysis of landmark cases in Canada’s National Parks, Dearden and Berg paint a picture of how the [tourism] entrepreneurs were dominant from 1880-1971, then the environmentalists from 1971-1987, and now the aboriginals.

supported by Chase (1986:202), who described the NPS as a “Ministry of Tourism” saying that it has become less capable of satisfying its mandate for preservation.

The conclusion from this discussion is that the ambiguity of protected area legislation and policy, and changes in the way that it has been interpreted and applied, have favoured certain interests at certain times, have set what are seen as precedents, and have fostered expectations that certain interests will prevail at the expense of others. Thus the stage has been set for conflict among interests over a range of policy issues including tourism and sustainable development.

2.5.8 Attitudes towards tourism

Central to an understanding of the tourism policy-making process, and thus to the discussion on relationships and co-ordination, is the issue of values (Hall and Jenkins 1995a). A number of researchers note that the difficulties in achieving collaborative solutions are directly related to the differences in value orientation between stakeholders (Brown 1991, Grey 1989 in Jamal and Getz 1995:191). Values may be discussed on a number of levels: macro-level sets of values or ideologies operate at the national or international level; operating at the organisational level, values are commonly referred to as “organisational culture”. Additionally there are individual levels of value. The policy-making process may reflect macro, organisational and personal values the three not necessarily being complementary (Hall and Jenkins 1995a).

Most decisions by resource managers have been documented to be either explicitly or implicitly value-laden (Sax 1980, Rolston 1985 in Lemons 1987:330). As Foresta (1986:310) notes, “the idea of bureaucracy as being neutral has long been discarded”. For example, in Canada, Lowry (1994:54) found that the Canadian Parks Service had changed behaviourally over the last twenty years, and that employees were finding new ways to “reverse decades of emphasis on recreation and commercial development”.

Vining (1992) provides a thorough analysis of the literature concerning emotions and decisions of resource managers and their constituents, citing research that illustrates differences between the environmental attitudes of environmentalists, industrialists, business leaders, and government officials.¹⁶ With regard to managers of natural areas, most studies have compared their attitudes with those of users of these areas, but unfortunately, few have compared them with other constituencies (for example tourism managers). Vining notes the

¹⁶Bixler, Noe and Hammitt (1992:339) define environmental attitudes as “judgmental beliefs about human interaction with the environment”. They note that age, education and political ideology are consistently good demographic indicators of environmental attitudes.

importance of socialisation within the resource management agency, or what is commonly referred to as 'organisational culture', on managers' emotions and decisions.

However, a warning should be sounded about the dangers of treating personnel within heritage management organisations as a homogeneous group. Research has revealed considerable differences in environmental attitudes within organisations (e.g. Downs 1967 in Foresta 1984:316). Freemuth (1991), describes the U.S. National Parks Service, for example, as being composed of different professions and points of view about the purposes of parks. As an illustration of just how disparate these views may be, he describes how at Yellowstone National Park, in the 1980s, resource specialists within the Service formed the "Yellowstone Park Preservation Council" to counter what they saw as a pro-development bias of park management (Freemuth 1989). Further such illustrations of the heterogeneous nature of heritage management organisations are provided by Chase (1986), Frome (1992) and Rettie (1995). Chase (1986) describes how in the National Park Service (NPS), individual park superintendents would either encourage or discourage tourism developments, depending upon their personalities. Frome (1992) considers that whether or not heritage managers discourage tourism developments appears to hinge upon managers forming an emotional attachment to the resource. He bemoans what he views as NPS management professionals becoming divorced from any emotional attachment to the national parks they are trying to protect, attributing to this, a loss of the protection commitment.

However, illustrative of how strongly prevalent certain protective attitudes towards parks may be within heritage management organisations, a survey undertaken of the attitudes of its own staff, by the American National Parks Service (NPS) in 1980, found that only 9% emphasised utilisation (by tourists), whereas 76% were against the expansion of visitor facilities (NPS 1992 in Foresta 1984:105). Similarly, a survey of the attitudes towards tourism of personnel from the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service revealed that tourism was seen as being problematic, but, importantly, not as an inappropriate use of parks, or as an inappropriate management activity (Wearing and Brock 1991). There was, however, some resentment of the emphasis given to dealing with visitors, at the expense of nature conservation and resource management. Research into attitudes to tourism held by Canadian national park superintendents revealed surprisingly high approvals to many forms of tourism (Boyd 1985 in Boyd 2000:170). This was attributed to the superintendents being mindful of the increasing need to promote tourism to generate revenue. Boyd's research is particularly applicable to this study as it illustrates a link between macro-scale economic factors that have contributed to park funding scarcity, and the micro-scale or personal interpretation of those factors. The consideration of such multi-levelled influences is an ongoing theme of this study.

Overall, there is strong evidence to suggest that personal attitudes, both within management and general staff of heritage management agencies is a significant factor in the way that park policy is interpreted and applied. Unfortunately, as with the general literature on NTOs, little has also been published on the role and environmental attitudes within these organisations. Whilst there is limited work on NTOs, some studies on tourism business have been undertaken. For example, King and Weaver (1993) undertook a survey of tourism operators, identifying strong knowledge of the relationship between the environment and tourism, and support for enhanced protection of natural areas. However, this work showed that most operators adopted a superficial view regarding the environmental impact of tourism, which did not consider the underlying environmental issues.

While personal attitudes are thus a significant factor in policy interpretation, more concrete organisational level and system-wide factors are also seen to be important (e.g. Boyd 1995 in Boyd 2000). How do these broader organisational issues impact upon policy implementation and consequently, upon relations between tourism and heritage management agencies?

2.5.9 Organisational structure & resourcing levels of heritage management agencies

The organisational structure of heritage management agencies is another factor said to contribute to the way that parks tourism policy is applied by agencies, and thus a contributing factor to relationships within this domain (Lowry 1994). Lowry notes how in Canada, the devolution of decision making power regarding tourist developments within parks, to the parks level, has resulted in a comparatively greater emphasis on the preservation role of parks, rather than a utilitarian role, as a resource for recreation and tourism. This arises through the distancing of decision making away from political appointees within park management: decision making is then “more insulated from external influence” (Lowry 1994:45).

A number of analyses of national park management also identify financial considerations as a key influence. Resourcing can be a critical component of the institutional arrangements surrounding tourism policy implementation, however, within the literature, the discussion of this variable is limited. Hall and McArthur (1996) note in general that visitor management budgets do little to provide for long term planning, monitoring and evaluation of visitor services. Similar observations have been made in the American context (e.g. Rettie 1995; Foresta 1986; Frome 1992) and in New Zealand (Kearsley 1996).

Rollins reports that in Canada also, there have been problems of insufficient resourcing for national park management. He cites the 1984 Canadian Auditor General’s report, which comments that “competing priorities have prevented the allocation of sufficient financial and

other resources to National Park resource conservation, resulting in many breaches of resource protection policy” (Canadian Environmental Advisory Council 1991 in Rollins 1993:94). Thus inadequate resourcing may manifest itself upon relations in two ways: first through isolating certain interests through what are seen as inappropriate park management decisions; and secondly, through inhibiting the establishment and funding of a suitable, integrative, inclusive planning process.

The fact that many organisations have continued their emphasis on use rather than preservation (Lowry 1994) is to some extent increasingly driven through tourism being seen as a preferred solution to the problems of financing protected area systems (Boyd 2000). However, it is also attributable to heritage organisations’ high degree of susceptibility to political demands for the utilisation of protected areas – an issue that throws into question the value of a co-ordinated stakeholder approach to planning in this domain, when decisions may ultimately be made outside of the domain.

2.5.10 Power and influence

Hall and Jenkins (1995) discuss the issue of power with respect to the study of tourism, noting that decisions affecting tourism policy, the nature of government involvement in tourism, the structure of tourism agencies, the nature of tourism development and community involvement in tourism planning and policy all emerge from a political process. Importantly, issues of power and political influence may preclude an effective, inclusive, and co-ordinated approach to planning in the protected area – tourism domain. Jenkins (1993) discusses the role of power and politics and whilst supporting the need for co-ordination of tourism policy between different governmental levels, notes that this approach is contrary to public policy and regional planning research that suggests that effective co-ordination in a complex policy environment such as tourism, is unlikely. He notes a number of problems with various models of policy co-ordination, citing Bell (1990) in this respect:

...co-ordination is about power and politics because inevitably individuals, organisations and governments do not want to be co-ordinated. Each wants control of a particular policy or issue. Each believes that its perspective or approach is the best. Each wants to keep for itself the resources it requires for ‘successful management’ and which increases its hold over decisions and strengthens its power base. Each wants to satisfy its own clients (Bell 1990 in Jenkins 1993:288).

Notwithstanding this negative outlook, there are opportunities for policy co-ordination, and situations where co-ordination is not only possible, but indeed highly desirable. It is conceivable that these situations of intractability alluded to above, may be overcome, for example under the following conditions:

- When the number of individuals/organisations is small

- In an environment of resource poverty
- When the issue or policy is minor compared to organisations' overall policy interests
- Where there is an overarching impetus or paradigm for co-ordination perhaps associated with a more powerful institution, constituency, or 'movement'.

The latter point recognises that again, as much as inter-organisational politics may serve to impede co-ordination of policy, they may just as easily validate such an approach. As we will observe below, political influence has in the past tended to isolate stakeholders in this policy domain. However, potentially the new paradigm of sustainable development, with its associated emphasis on a co-operative, inclusive approach to policy making, may serve to overcome some of the power-based barriers identified above.

2.5.11 Political influence on park policy

Despite the few empirical studies into the application of power in this domain, it is widely argued that most protected area management decisions are political and not driven by environmental or scientific principles (e.g. Lemons 1987; Rollins 1993; Rettie 1995). Some researchers have found that other political actors are as equally important as the actual jurisdictional agency, with regard to resource management decisions. Politicians have historically wielded significant amounts of power in this domain, and a good example of their influence is provided by Chase (1986), who traces tourism developments in Yellowstone National Park. There, one major tourism development in the park, that received a great deal of opposition from preservationists both within and outside of the National Park Service (NPS), was described by some NPS personnel as "a product of a plot hatched between economic special interests, congressmen and presidents" - in this case, presumably the economic special interests were those of tourism developers and concession operators. Frome (1992) also notes the power of the alignment between tourism interests and politicians, citing examples from the United States where NPS managers have been removed because of their opposition to tourism development.

As well as national politics influencing developments and relationships within parks, regional or local politics may have similar effects - particularly the power of interests from localities neighbouring national parks. For example, Frome notes the case of pressure from the town of Moab adjacent to a Canyonlands National park, in the USA, for the provision of roads within the park: "they wanted roads, and considered a park without extensive motorised access a federal rip-off, if not a communist conspiracy". The attitude of the county was epitomised by their statement "lets put the parks back on a business basis" (Frome 1992:114).

In the face of the considerable amount of influence that some interests possess, heritage management organisations may adopt certain relationship strategies. Foresta (1986) in an examination of the administration of natural and historic preservation notes a number of tendencies in administrative behaviour, for example, adopting a “survival strategy”, whereby an agency may try to keep its environment benign by pleasing friends, and creating clients. This could be the case when an agency perceives that it has a minimal power base in comparison to another interest (e.g. the tourism sector), and would obviously impact on decisions that agency makes with respect to the other interest, and potentially on relationships in the whole domain.

2.5.12 Summary

The above broad-ranging discussion highlights a number of key issues relating to the protected area – tourism policy domain. First, from a discussion of the state’s role, it is generally accepted that the state has roles in both the promotion of tourism *and* in environmental planning for tourism. Whilst the former role could be assumed by the private sector, that sector has successfully argued for its continuation under the state umbrella. The second role, of environmental planning is deemed to be crucial by most commentators. The importance of the state in developing co-ordinated strategies for the achievement of multiple outcomes is also emphasised. However, deficiencies in the state’s role regarding the integration of environmental concerns into tourism policy have been revealed in a number of regions. It is also noted that the recent promulgation of market force arguments have brought the extent of the state’s role in both regulation, and co-ordination, under scrutiny, although the responsiveness of the market to tourism impacts is debatable.

From the discussion of the legislation, policy and mandates of the key state stakeholders in protected area – tourism, it is evident that these arrangements provide an ambiguous context for the development of relationships in this domain. Heritage management legislation is ambiguous regarding agency role toward tourism, and is open to broad interpretation by both the protected area managers themselves and a variety of interests, including tourist development interests. The dual mandate of use and preservation must ultimately place the heritage management agencies in a position of conflict with at least some domain members.

The mandate of state tourism organisations is similarly ambiguous, but the role of tourism organisations, although varying significantly, is shown to be primarily that of tourism promotion. Environmental responsibilities that have been prescribed by researchers in this area, are seen to generally take low priority, providing little incentive for NTOs to enter into arrangements for co-ordinated planning in this area.

The role of values was seen to be significant, at a number of levels. At the national level, politico-economic ideology has influenced policies of both heritage management agencies and tourism organisations. At the organisational and personal levels, attitudes towards tourism were said to be important to the formulation and implementation of tourism policy by heritage management agencies. Yet findings across a number of studies suggest a degree of attitudinal heterogeneity within and between heritage management agencies. Although little work was evident on values, attitudes and behaviour within tourism organisations, related work points to a different set of values being resident within these organisations, thus providing a potential source of inter-agency conflict.

Other institutional arrangements such as the role of organisational structure, policy and planning procedures and resourcing levels have all been demonstrated to play a role in the approach of heritage management organisations towards tourism. Importantly, these aspects also potentially impact on organisations' abilities to form and maintain relationships, in terms of the practicalities of maintaining relationships, and in terms of deciding who, within organisations, is responsible for developing relations – an important consideration when the attitudinal component is considered.

The discussion on power, influence, and the role of interest groups indicated that both heritage management agencies and tourism organisations were highly susceptible to political influence. The influence of politicians, local/regional communities and interest groups on policy formulation and implementation, and consequently on organisations' perceived place within the domain relative to other interests was noted. Producer interest groups in particular, have been influential over tourism organisations, and NTOs' general lack of concern for the environmental outcomes of their marketing activities is attributed to their involvement. A range of influences have been cited in heritage management policy (e.g. conservation interests, tourism developers, politicians, indigenous peoples), where a significant feature has been the ebb and flow of power of these interests in relation to changing legislation, policy and broader social trends.

Finally, the history of political influence upon resource management decisions in this domain, along with issues of power relations among stakeholders, bring into serious question the potential for collaboration between protected area – tourism interests, and ultimately questions the prospects for co-ordinated planning within the domain.

2.5.13 The importance of inter-agency co-ordination for sustainable tourism in national parks

A critical issue would appear to be the degree of co-ordination or collaboration between key interests within the domain. The literature in this field reveals that if the issue of tourism impact in natural areas is to be addressed in an effective manner, there must be some degree of collaborative planning between stakeholders.

Tourism planning must be integrated with all other planning (Gunn 1988; Inskeep 1991). Indeed, because of its cross-sectoral makeup, the tourism field is said to be *dependent* upon inter-organisational relations to achieve its goals (Selin and Beason 1991). Effectively, within this domain, no single business or government establishment can operate in isolation (Gunn 1988, Inskeep 1991, Godfrey 1995).

However, if agencies are to work together harmoniously, they must share at least some community of interest about basic goals. It has also been noted that differing ideologies serve as barriers to interorganisational relations (Reid 1987 in Selin and Beason 1991:643). The difficulties in achieving collaborative solutions are directly related to the differences in value orientation between stakeholders (Brown 1991; Grey 1989 in Jamal and Getz 1995:1991).

The potential of a collaborative or stakeholder approach in helping to maintain a balance between tourism activity and environmental concerns is widely acknowledged (Robson and Robson 1996:534). But despite the widespread acceptance for the *principle* of collaboration, it appears that the potential of collaborative planning in *practise* has not yet been reached in the tourism field. Lucas (1992) talks of a past vacuum of understanding between conservation resource managers and tourism operators. And research has revealed that a broader “domain level” focus is yet to be accepted and implemented in tourism planning, where the emphasis is more at an individual organisational level (Jamal and Getz 1995).

In reply to the inadequacies of extant practices, a sustainable development approach to tourism has been promulgated as a means of facilitating and integrating tourism goals (Hall 1991). However, three key institutional obstacles to the implementation of sustainable development have been identified, that would appear to have particular relevance to the study domain (WCED 1987:9): Institutions tend to be independent and work to narrow mandates, with closed decision processes; those responsible for managing natural resources and protecting the environment are institutionally separated from those responsible for managing the economy; and governments fail to make the bodies whose policy actions degrade the environment, responsible for ensuring that their policies prevent that degradation. The evidence from this review of literature, would suggest that the protected area - tourism domain suffers from the presence of these institutional obstacles. In addressing these obstacles, which have been

identified as predominantly organisational obstacles, this study will adopt an interorganisational approach.

From the foregoing discussion in this chapter, a number of requirements for research into the operationalisation of sustainable tourism in the protected area – tourism domain may be identified. It is important that a research framework must:

- Be multi-organisational and interorganisational
- Consider the role of state organisations and their relationships
- Consider the role of non-governmental interests
- Incorporate the values and attitudes of individuals within organisations
- Consider wider political and economic processes

The next chapter will explore the application of an interorganisational relations approach, outlining specific areas of theory relevant to this study. Previous interorganisational relations research conducted in the tourism and sustainable development fields will be reviewed and implications for this study considered.

Chapter 3: Interorganisational relations theory

3.1 A suitable framework

In order to meet the objectives of this study, it is necessary to explore appropriate conceptual and methodological frameworks. A number of researchers who have addressed the issue of sustainable tourism and the need for collaborative planning have advocated the use of interorganisational collaboration or interorganisational relations theory (e.g. Hall and Jenkins 1995a). This chapter will consider the strengths and weaknesses of interorganisational relations (IOR) theory, emergent methodological issues, and the application of IOR theory to tourism. The chapter concludes by discussing a suitable organising framework for the study, and outlining what the study will contribute – both to the sustainable tourism debate and to interorganisational relations research.

Hall and Jenkins (1995) point to the relevance of interorganisational relations in the study of tourism policy, noting that this field of study has only recently attracted the attention of practitioners and academics. Interorganisational relations is a field of study developed in the 1960s and has only recently been applied to tourism (Fridgen 1986 in Selin and Beason 1991:642). Interorganisational relations are defined as existing when two or more organisations interact and trade resources with each other (Hall and Jenkins 1995a). The resources may be financial, technical or human resources. They also include authority, for example authority to access restricted areas for tourism purposes. The key requirements of studying interorganisational relationships include: identifying and accessing the key actors and agencies; examining the values, perceptions and interests of significant individuals and organisations; and isolating the relationships within and between stakeholders in the tourism policy process (Hall and Jenkins 1995a:31).

An inter-organisational relationship approach is appropriate as a research framework for this study, as it permits an analysis of the nature and significance of the relationships between stakeholders in the protected area – tourism domain. In the context of this study, an interorganisational relations approach is taken to include the body of work commonly referred to as studies of ‘collaboration’. This study to some extent avoids stepping too far into the field of interorganisational networks, as initial research undertaken for this study revealed that relationships within the domain under consideration lacked the essential characteristics of an interorganisational network.

Ebers (1997:21) writes of the role of networks:

...interorganisational networks institutionalise recurring, partner-specific exchange relationships of finite duration (often based on goal accomplishment) or of unspecified duration among a limited number of actors.

In contrast to this definition, relationships in previously researched protected area-tourism domains appeared to be non-structured, non-recurring, non-specific, and the membership of the domain uncertain (e.g. Selin and Myers 1995). However, as Rowley (1997:890) notes, "...relationships do not occur within a vacuum of dyadic ties, but rather in a network of influences". While this study openly focuses upon the formation of individual dyadic relationships, using the above definition of a network, these dyads cannot be considered to exist within a network as such – an imminent network, or a dysfunctional network perhaps (more on this below). Nevertheless, the study of interorganisational networks has largely been informed by the same diverse body of literature that outlines the framework for this research: hence there are commonalities between this research and studies that have adopted a network approach. Such studies are yet uncommon in the tourism field, recent examples including studies of wine tourism networks (Hall et al. 2000) and of the organisation of supply at the destination level (Pavlovich 2000).

As outlined in the study's objectives, the focus is on key state actors with respect to tourism and protected areas, as these agencies tend to have "the greatest influence on the form, character and distribution of the impacts of [tourism] economic activity on the environmental resource base. It is these agencies through their policies and budgets, that determine whether the environmental resource base is enhanced or developed..." (WCED 1987:311). However, as revealed earlier in this chapter, within the protected area – tourism domain, the role of interest groups is profound. Hence an exploration of the nature of relationships between interest groups and with the key state stakeholders is considered essential to an understanding of the functioning of this domain.

3.1.1. Interorganisational relations theory

From within the fields of policy studies, management and sociology, a body of work has emerged which addresses the issue of interorganisational relations (IORs). An interorganisational relationship occurs when two or more organisations transact resources among each other (Van de Ven 1976). IORs may be established for a number of purposes, for example, to jointly obtain a greater amount of resources than would be possible by each agency independently, or perhaps to promote areas of common interest, or even to adjudicate areas of dispute or competition. It has been noted that high levels of positive

interorganisational interaction are critical for effective problem diagnosis, action planning, and change implementation (Woodman 1989 in Ellison and Barbour 1992:304).

Many authors call for an interorganisational approach when addressing environmental problems and the issue of sustainability. For example, Honadle and Cooper (1989) believe that efforts to reduce environmental decay and conserve natural resources are unlikely to succeed without co-operation among numerous institutions and social groups. Others argue that sustainable development is fundamentally an institutional problem, and that enhanced horizontal and vertical linkages between organisations may strengthen the institutional bases for sustainable development (Brown 1991). Hence, the call for an integrated approach to planning for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism development for protected natural areas is also implicitly a call for an *interorganisational* approach to the issue. But as Webb (1991) observes, although most in the public and private sectors are aware of the need for greater co-operation and systematic planning, there are many obstacles to achieving this:

Exhortations to organisations, professions, and other interests to work together more closely and effectively litter the policy landscape. Complex and multifaceted problems cry out for systematic and well ordered responses yet the reality is all too often a jumble of services fractionalised by professional, cultural and organisational boundaries and by tiers of governance (Webb 1991:229).

Gray (1985) believes that there is a growing need for collaborative problem solving across various sectors of society, and notes the value of collaboration in solving crises in a number of circumstances. Collaborative problem solving among stakeholders is especially warranted with “indivisible” problems, i.e., problems which are bigger than any single organisation acting alone can solve (Aldrich 1976).¹⁷ Collaborative approaches offer an alternative to the limitations of ‘traditional’ adversarial methods of resolving conflict. They are also useful in situations of “increasing environmental turbulence”, which result when large organisations “act independently in diverse directions, creating unanticipated and dissonant consequences for themselves and others” (Emery and Trist 1965; Trist 1977: in Gray 1985:912).

Gray (1989:10) outlines the characteristics of problems for which collaboration is the most suitable means of decision making:

- The problems are ill defined, or there is disagreement over how they should be defined.
- Several stakeholders have a vested interest in the problems and are interdependent.
- These stakeholders are not necessarily identified *a priori* or organised in any way
- There may be disparity of power or resources among stakeholders to deal with problem.

¹⁷ Ackoff (1974 in Gray 1985:913) calls these situations, “messes”.

- Stakeholders have different expertise or and different access to information about problems.
- The problems are often characterised by technical complexity and scientific uncertainty.
- Differing perspectives on the problems often lead to adversarial relationships among stakeholders.
- Incremental or unilateral efforts to deal with the problems are unsatisfactory.
- Existing processes for addressing the problems have proved insufficient.

From the review of literature in the preceding chapter, it is evident that many, if not all of the above criteria may be met in the “problem” of tourism within protected areas, again pointing to the value of an interorganisational relations approach to this issue.

3.1.2 Typologies of interorganisational relations

The IOR literature covers interorganisational relationships in their many incarnations, which are variously referred to as “co-operation”, “co-ordination”, “collaboration”, “partnerships”, or sometimes by the umbrella term, IOR. It is important at this point to distinguish between these terms, because as Ellison and Barbour (1992) note, terminology may be confusing. Kagan, in comparing co-operation with co-ordination and collaboration, positioned all three on a pyramid with co-operation at the base as the least complex relationship among organisations (Kagan 1990 in Ellison and Barbour 1992:304). Co-operation is defined as an effort in which two or more individual organisations work together with a common goal (Simon 1976 in Ellison and Barbour 1992:305). According to the literature, co-ordination suggests a greater degree of interaction among or within organisations than co-operation does. Kagan (1990 in Ellison and Barbour 1992) positioned co-ordination in the middle level of the pyramid. Collaboration, at the top of Kagan’s pyramid, suggests an even greater amount of interaction among organisations and a greater level of complexity than either co-operation or co-ordination. Collaboration is defined as the pooling of appreciations and /or tangible resources by two or more stakeholders to solve a set of problems which neither can solve individually (Gray 1985:912). The stakeholders share in a product or service that none would have been able to achieve alone (Hord 1986 in Ellison and Barbour 1992:305).

Mulford and Rogers (1982) provide an overview of the various interpretations of co-ordination and co-operation, noting that the two have been confused, and clearly have different outcomes. They too argue that co-ordination is usually more formal than co-operation, and compare the two types of IOR using a number of criteria, including: rules and formality (co-operation has none); goals and activities emphasised (co-operation emphasises organisations individual goals and activities, whereas co-ordination emphasises joint goals and activities); resources involved (co-operation is less resource intensive); threat to autonomy (co-ordination is a greater threat) (Mulford and Rogers 1982:13). The focus of Mulford and Rogers’ work is on

interorganisational co-ordination, which they believe to be harder to instigate than co-operation because of its costs for participants. They define co-ordination as “ the process whereby two or more organisations create and/or use existing decision rules that have been established to deal collectively with their shared task environment” (Mulford and Rogers 1982:12). Partnerships are less well defined. Selin and Myers (1995) define them as “the voluntary pooling of resources (e.g. labour, money, information) between two or more parties to accomplish collaborative goals”, which is slightly unsatisfactory as it confuses partnerships with collaboration. They go on to say that partnerships refer to a diverse set of emerging interorganisational forms including: coalitions, task forces, working groups, and co-operative agreements.

Despite the above emphasis on positive mutual relationships, it is important to note that IORs are not always co-operative, and that they can be conflictual. For example Selin and Beason (1991:642) identify conflict between national park officials and tourism businesses at Yellowstone National Park where the organisations were pursuing contrary goals and conflict was a consequence. In this instance, the tourism businesses wanted to encourage maximum visitation, while park officials were concerned about ecological integrity. This reinforces Alter and Hage’s (1993) observations that conflict and co-operation can be thought of as different ends of a single continuum describing relations between organisations.

As the previous discussion reveals, attempts to list the defining characteristics of interorganisational relationships have been challenging. Not only are definitions for various forms of IOR vague, the very practice of listing characteristics is problematic. That is, the vagueness and difficulty in defining them, actually tells us something about the nature of IORs. Lists of characteristics or typologies are static, frozen in time. They tell us little about the dynamics or fluidity of interorganisational relationships.

Because of the overlap of the above descriptions, and the imprecise way in which various forms of IOR have been defined, this study will use the umbrella term “interorganisational relations” which includes co-operation, collaboration, co-ordination, partnerships and conflict. Using this broad term helps to avoid the static nature of the above typologies, allowing us to focus on the dynamic nature of the relationships as they become revealed.¹⁸

It is taken as a given that the nature of IORs is constantly changing and that the characteristics of IORs will therefore always reflect this change. At any given moment they may well reveal multiple and contradictory characteristics. It will be within the wider context within which

¹⁸ The term “IOR” will be used except where the literature specifically refers to a particular form of IOR.

IORs are located that will suggest how and why the relationship is as it is at any particular point in time.

The literature on IORs is broad ranging and heterogeneous. However, several key themes can be identified as being useful for summarising the history and development of IOR theory and research.¹⁹ A range of conceptual approaches have been employed to investigate how IORs form, how they function, persist or fail, and the impact that they have on policy formulation and implementation. These features are discussed below.

3.1.3 The formation of interorganisational relations

Central to the study of IOR is the concept of the “domain”. An interorganisational domain comprises a set of organisations with a common interest in a problem (Milward 1982 and Trist 1983 in Gray and Hay 1986:96). Domains form as individuals perceive that mutual problems can be resolved collectively. This process is not an objective predetermined process but a social construction. As individuals come to “share a vision” of the problem and see themselves, collectively as part of the solution, they become stakeholders (Hardy 1994:279). This shared appreciation of the problem helps acquire an identity for the domain, which may produce mutually agreed upon directions and boundaries, which may, in turn, become manifested in a more permanent structure (Trist 1983 in Hardy 1994:279).

The problem under consideration in this study is the development of policy to operationalise the concept of sustainable tourism development for protected areas: hence the problem domain is considered to comprise those organisations that influence the type and nature of tourism within those protected areas.

3.1.4 Domain development

To help conceptualise domain development, this “process” is divided into three sequential phases: *problem-setting*, *direction-setting*, and *implementation* (Gray 1989:56).²⁰ *Problem-setting* is concerned with identification of the stakeholders and mutual acknowledgement of the issue that joins them (Gray 1985). The domain over this phase “acquires an explicit form that enables stakeholders to communicate, be identified and legitimated, and acknowledge their mutual problems” (Hardy 1994:279). Problem setting may involve focusing the attention of existing members of a domain in a direction they have previously ignored, or it may involve introducing previously unrecognised interests as legitimate stakeholders in the domain.

¹⁹ Useful reviews of IOR research include: Galaskiewicz 1985 in Oliver 1990; Gray 1985; Rogers and Whetten 1982; Schemerhorn 1975; Van de Ven 1976; Webb 1991; Whetten 1981.

²⁰ Gray (1989) notes that several authors have described generic phases of collaboration, citing: McCann 1983; Cummings 1984; Gray 1985; Saunders 1985; Susskind and Madigan 1984; and Dunlop 1987: all in Gray 1989:56.

Through the problem-setting phase, “stakeholders negotiate issues of legitimacy and come to appreciate the interdependence which exists among themselves” (Gray 1985:917).

In the *direction setting* phase, the values of stakeholders become known, and stakeholders, by sharing their interpretations about the future of the domain, begin to identify a common sense of purpose. The *implementation* phase (also referred to as *structuring* by Gray 1985) involves the creation of long-term structures to support and sustain the domain’s collective appreciation and problem solving activities (Gray 1985). “Structures” refers to the organisational arrangements that emerge (Trist 1983 in Gray 1985:918). Implementation also refers to the process of institutionalising the shared meanings and prevailing norms that emerge as the domain develops (Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood 1980 in Gray 1985:918).

3.1.5 Underorganised domains

Hardy (1994) notes that it is the latter stages of domain development, particularly the structures of the implementation phase, which have attracted the most attention from researchers. During these latter phases, the initial problems associated with the identification of relevant stakeholders and the securement of agreement on actions have already been resolved.

But as Hardy (1994) notes, domains do exist in a less developed state. Brown (1980) describes these domains as being “underorganised” (Brown 1980 in Hardy 1994:279). Gray and Hay (1986) note that because domain-level problems affect many organisations, the boundaries of a domain are often unclear, shifting or in dispute, and that the degree of awareness related to the domain is frequently low or non-existent. They refer to such domains as being “underorganised”.²¹ Hardy, interpreting Gray’s (1989) work, defines an underorganised domain as one that is still struggling with the earlier stages of domain development and characterised by a lack of consensus around the legitimate stakeholders and/or lack of common values. She suggests that underorganisation can take a variety of forms - the exclusion of legitimate stakeholders, a lack of convergence around mutual values, or both.

A concept that is related to the underorganised domain, is the “unmanaged co-ordination” referred to by Mott (Mott 1968 in Mulford and Rogers 1982:18). Mott recognised two types of co-ordination, managed or unmanaged. The similarity with underorganised domains lays in the common characteristic that shared recognition or identification with a common issue is less apparent. The difference arises from unmanaged co-ordination still implying a degree of

²¹ Domains with these characteristics have also been referred to as “under-bounded” (Alderfer 1976, 1979 in Gray and Hay 1986:96), or “loosely coupled” (Weick 1976 in Gray and Hay 1986:96).

co-ordination; this implication is not made in the case of underorganised domains. Unmanaged co-ordination occurs in a random or self regulating way, and includes “latent and unanticipated consequences as organisations adjust and adapt to each others’ policies” (Mott 1968 in Mulford and Rogers 1982:18). Unfortunately, Mulford and Rogers (1982) note that there is little empirical data concerning unmanaged co-ordination and its effectiveness. However, interestingly, and in opposition to two truisms in IOR theory, that organisation is preferable to fragmentation, and that co-operation is preferable to conflict, Hardy (1994) found evidence to support the idea that underorganised domains may provide creative opportunities for policy formulation through providing “a more receptive structure for political opportunity” (Hardy 1994:292). A fragmented, underorganised domain may be easier for less powerful stakeholders to enter and influence because the contradictions and tensions are conducive to the process of change (Chua and Clegg 1989; McGuire 1988: both in Hardy 1994:292). Thus, Hardy calls for a closer examination of underorganisation and conflict.

3.1.6 Why are some domains underorganised?

There can be many reasons for a domain to be underorganised. Hardy suggests that it may be because the actors have failed to achieve agreement on the legitimate stakeholders; or perhaps disagreement over the interpretation of data has sabotaged collective efforts to define the problem; perhaps networks have failed to materialise for the lack of a suitable convenor; or conflicting philosophies have translated into competitive rather than collaborative strategies (Hardy 1994:280).

Hardy’s (1994) research into refugee systems in Canada, the United Kingdom and Denmark produced evidence of different forms of underorganisation, based on a lack of convergence around key values, or the exclusion of relevant stakeholders, or both. Hardy’s resultant model of underorganisation recognises four forms of underorganisation (Table 3.1).

TABLE 3.1. Forms of underorganisation (Hardy 1994:290)

Relevant stakeholders...	Have convergent values	Don't have convergent values
Are legitimated	Towards domain organisation	Contested domain
Are not legitimated	Partial domain	Unorganised domain

A domain with agreement on neither stakeholders nor values can be said to be *unorganised*. A *contested* domain is characterised by agreement on participating stakeholders but a lack of shared values because stakeholders are divided by conflicting views. A domain is *partial* if values are shared but potential players are excluded. Ironically, Hardy found in her inter-country comparison that the domain that was the least organised was the most effective (in protecting refugees). This was hypothesised to be the result of disorganisation “creating a space in which less powerful stakeholders [the refugee interests] can influence events in a way not possible in domains where rules, processes and structures are more clearly defined” (Hardy 1994:292). Hardy believes that this issue of power and powerlessness of stakeholders is quite significant to domain development, but notes that research into political processes *per se* has not been a major feature of IOR research. Given Hardy’s findings, any research should seriously consider power relations and domain development simultaneously.

Although Hardy’s model of underorganisation is useful in that it recognises the roles of, and link between stakeholder legitimacy and value convergence, her model is incomplete in two ways. First it only incorporates values and stakeholder legitimacy as facilitating factors, whereas the literature on IORs recognises a range of factors influencing the facilitation of IORs. Second, in Hardy’s case study, the underlying assumption is made that the environment is ripe for a collaborative interorganisational approach to the issue under consideration. By defining the system as a “metaproblem” or one that is beyond the scope of a single organisation to solve, the assumption is made that a collaborative interorganisational approach is an inevitability. Whilst this may indeed be the case for this particular problem domain, for many other problem domains there may be a host of reasons why or why not actors would or would not enter into such a configuration.

3.1.7 Traditional approaches to IOR

Organisations do not co-ordinate for co-ordination’s sake (Van de Ven 1976). Traditionally, two alternative theoretical models have been used to explain IORs (Selin and Beason 1991). First, the “exchange” model developed by Levine and White (1961) views organisations as voluntarily interacting to achieve mutual organisational goals. Organisational exchange is generally understood to emerge from recognition of mutual benefits by the organisations involved (Selin and Beason 1991). This model has been critiqued, however, most notably by Cook (1977 in Mulford and Rogers 1982:16), who believes that exchange represents a limited range of interorganisational activity, and proposed that exchange as an underlying cause of IORs should be limited to *voluntary* transactions involving the transfer of resources. The alternative model, “resource dependence” (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978), cites the desire to obtain scarce resources as the key motivational factor for developing IORs. By pursuing scarce resources, organisations develop varying degrees of power and resource dependence

relative to one another. It is important to note that the resource dependence model treats authority as a resource that is sought after by organisations (Aldrich 1976).

Alter and Hage (1993:109) believe that resource dependence is probably the single most popular perspective on IORs. However, researchers in the field now acknowledge that elements of both models are likely to be present in the interaction of organisations (see for example: Schmidt and Kochan 1977; Selin and Beason 1991). Building from the basis of these models, a number of other approaches to IOR formation have been used by researchers in this field, and various classifications and syntheses offered. As the literature in this area is extensive, I refer to a number of useful summaries below.

In practice, there are in effect two groups of factors that influence the development of IORs and thus affect the degree of domain organisation. The first set of factors comprises those that would provide the impetus to form IORs. The second set of factors includes those that would help facilitate the IOR. Oliver (1990:241) refers to these two sets as “the reasons for relationship formation” and “the conditions under which relationships form”.

3.1.8 The reasons for relationship formation

Beside the obvious benefits of organisations forming interorganisational relationships in terms of gaining access to resources, there are also costs. As Halpert (1982:70) notes, “co-ordination is a disruptive element that brings into question existing meanings or the normative order within organisations”. Alter and Hage (1993) from a summary of IOR research over the last three decades, provide a breakdown of these costs and benefits. Benefits include: opportunities to learn and adapt; gain of resources; sharing the cost of product development; gain of influence over domain; ability to manage uncertainty; gain of mutual support; rapid response to change; gaining acceptance from governments. And among the costs are listed: loss of competitive position; loss of resources; sharing the costs of failure; loss of autonomy; loss of stability; conflict over domain, goals, methods; delays in solutions due to problems of co-ordination; government intrusion, and regulation. Alter and Hage (1993) provide a synthesis of theories of interorganisational collaborations, identifying four contributing variables: willingness to cooperate; need for expertise; need for resources and sharing of risks; and need for adaptive efficiency. They note that each of these prior conditions is necessary, but not sufficient in itself. Each must be present to create the pressure to enter collaborative relationships or to move to higher levels of collaboration.

A particularly useful analysis of IOR work, and of the reasons why organisations enter into relationships, is provided by Oliver (1990). She integrates the IOR literature from 1960 to 1990, in an effort to address some criticisms of this literature, that is, its nonadditivity across

past and current research and across a range of conceptual approaches (Oliver 1990). Oliver identifies six critical contingencies of relationship formation, which may be potentially applied across a range of organisations, settings and linkages. The contingencies are: necessity, assymetry, reciprocity, efficiency, stability, and legitimacy. These contingencies are shown for one type of IOR, the joint programme in Table 3.2.²²

TABLE 3.2. Critical contingencies of relationship formation for joint programmes
(after Oliver 1990:248)

Critical contingency	Necessity	Assymetry	Reciprocity	Efficiency	Stability	Legitimacy
	Mandated by external force	Exert control over access to resources	Facilitate exchange of resources	Reduce costs of service delivery	Share risks, reduce uncertainty	Demonstrate norms of co-operation

The contingency of necessity arises when organisations establish relationships with other organisations in order to meet necessary legal or regulatory requirements. Mandates from higher authorities such as government agencies, legislation, industry or professional regulatory bodies may provide the impetus for IORs. Oliver (1990) notes that most of the work on IORs, using the exchange and resource dependence approaches, have emphasised voluntary interactions. She argues that IORs arising through necessity are fundamentally different from relationships that have been entered into voluntarily.

The contingency of assymetry applies to IORs that have been initiated by organisations realising the potential to exercise power or control over another organisation or its resources (Oliver 1990). This approach contrasts with the approach of resource scarcity motivating organisations to cooperate with one another. Rather, the asymmetry, or power approach suggests that resource scarcity prompts organisations to attempt to exert power, influence or control over organisations that possess the scarce resources. Theories of political economy, resource dependence, class hegemony and elitism attribute motives of power and control to the establishment of IORs (Oliver 1990).

Reciprocity fits more readily into the established frameworks of IOR theory, particularly that of exchange. As Oliver notes, a considerable portion of the IOR literature implicitly or explicitly assumes that relationship formation is based on reciprocity. Motives of reciprocity emphasise co-operation, collaboration and co-ordination among organisations, rather than

²² Although Oliver (1990) describes how the critical contingencies operate for a number of different types of IOR (trade associations, voluntary agency federations, joint ventures, corporate-financial interlocks, and agency-sponsor linkages), the joint programme is used as the example in this study, as it is considered to be the most likely type of relationship to form in the tourism sector between heritage management agencies and tourism organisations.

domination, power and control. IORs based on reciprocity occur for the purpose of pursuing common or mutually beneficial goals or interests (Oliver 1990).

The contingency of efficiency relates to the desires of an organisation to improve its internal efficiency through the formation of IORs. The stability contingency would see IORs being entered into as an adaptive response to environmental uncertainty. Uncertainty prompts organisations to establish and manage relationships in order to achieve stability, predictability and dependability in their relations with others (Oliver 1990).

The enhancement of organisational legitimacy has also been cited as a significant motive in the formations of IORs. Oliver notes that institutional theory suggests that institutional environments impose pressures on organisations to justify their activities or outputs. “The establishment of IORs for purposes of increasing legitimacy can originate from an organisation’s motives to demonstrate or improve its reputation, image, prestige or congruence with prevailing norms in its institutional environment” (Oliver 1990:246). In a later paper, Oliver (1994) describes the “symbolic adoption” of collaboration. The target of legitimacy efforts may be other members of the organisation’s set, resource-granting agencies, the general public or external stakeholders (Galaskiewicz 1985 in Oliver 1990:246). Oliver notes that empirical studies that relate the motive of legitimacy specifically to IORs are few (see for example Schemerhorn and Shirland 1981, and Wiewel and Hunter 1985 in Oliver 1990:246).

As has been noted in other analyses of factors influencing IORs, Oliver points out that although each of the above contingencies may be a separate and sufficient cause of relationship formation, the decision to initiate relations with another organisation is commonly based on multiple contingencies (Oliver 1990:246). For example, the contingencies of asymmetry and reciprocity may interact when co-operative relations are formed for the purpose of exerting power over other members of the organisation’s environment (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978 in Oliver 1990:247). Also, an organisation’s orientation toward a particular IOR may change over time as the IOR becomes established (Schmidt and Kochan 1977). For example, the motive to interact may be reciprocal initially, but may shift toward asymmetry if conflict develops.

3.1.9 The conditions under which relationships form

The above analysis by Oliver (1990) provides a very useful framework for considering the reasons for organisations entering into IORs. But as noted above, there is also a range of facilitating factors which come into play that act upon organisations, influencing their receptiveness to, or ability to participate in, IORs. These factors will also influence the nature of the IOR, and may serve to either enhance or detract from the IOR. As Ellison and Barbour

(1992) note, it is important that planners (and researchers) consider the pre-conditions that must be met in order for voluntary co-ordination to occur.

Schemerhorn (1975) in one of the earliest reviews of IOR work developed a series of propositions around various “motivators”. Along with resource scarcity, he notes the importance of organisations recognising the positive value of “co-operation” *per se*. The role of powerful extra-organisational forces demanding interorganisational co-operation is also recognised. Weighing in against these motivators, Schemerhorn identifies a series of associated costs of interorganisational co-operation, which include loss of autonomy, harm to organisational image or identity, and the use of scarce organisational resources to facilitate the relationship. Other influencing factors include the permeability of the organisation’s boundaries to the external environment, the possession of common organisational goals, and finally the actual opportunities for organisations to cooperate, which are themselves dependent upon prevailing norms in the organisation and physical factors such as geographical proximity.

Halpert (1982), from a review of the literature on interorganisational co-ordination, found that there are two distinct types of variables that effect the decision to co-ordinate, and the co-ordination activity itself. One type of variable he termed “interpretive”, as it involves the attitudes, values and perceptions of agency personnel. The other type of variable is “contextual”, and includes both internal structural features such as size, technology, centralisation, complexity, as well as such environmental factors as the availability of resources, and the state of the economy. Halpert lists facilitators and inhibitors of co-ordination and also notes the significance of the interface between these sets of variables. He cites research that has highlighted the link between “interpretive and contextual phenomena”, in particular, that of Ranson *et al.* (1980 in Halpert 1982:70) who show how agency members continually produce and recreate organisational structures to allow for more and better articulation of their meaning systems.

Gray (1985, 1989) has also considered the conditions facilitating interorganisational relations, and in particular collaboration. Her focus is on underorganised systems, which, as noted above, are domains that represent *potential* networks or other collaborative structures. How do these domains become organised into collaborative structures? Gray suggests that different conditions facilitate each developmental phase of a collaboration, and discusses these conditions, which are summarised in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3. Facilitative conditions during domain development in collaboration

Problem-setting	Direction-setting	Structuring
Recognition of interdependence	Coincidence of values	High degree of ongoing interdependence
Identification of a requisite number of stakeholders	Dispersion of power among stakeholders	External mandates
Perceptions of legitimacy among stakeholders		Redistribution of power
Legitimate/skilled convenor		Influencing the contextual environment
Positive beliefs about outcomes		
Shared access to power		

(Source: Gray 1985:918)

Interestingly, although Hardy (1994) bases her analysis (see above) of underorganised domains on Gray’s (1989) model of domain development, Hardy only considers two “facilitating factors”: convergence of values, and legitimacy of stakeholders. Gray considers these factors, and both explicitly and implicitly the role of a number of other facilitating factors in domain development, for example the need for actors to recognise their interdependence.

During the problem-setting phase, facilitative conditions include: identification of the stakeholders (the stakeholder set needs to reflect the complexity of the problem); positive beliefs about outcomes, when stakeholders expect the benefits of collaborating to outweigh the costs; recognition of interdependence - the greater the degree of recognised interdependence among stakeholders, the greater the likelihood of initiating collaboration; perceptions of legitimacy among stakeholders, which are in turn shaped by historical relations and by the existing power distribution among stakeholders; and, the presence of a legitimate and skilled convenor. Conditions that facilitate the direction-setting phase include the coincidence of values among stakeholders, and a sufficient distribution of power to ensure that all stakeholders can influence direction-setting. Finally, structuring is facilitated when stakeholders perceive that continued interdependence is necessary to implement their desired directions for the domain. It is also influenced by negotiation among all stakeholders about the regulation of the domain, by the presence of external mandates (e.g. from some higher level of government), and by the collective ability of stakeholders to manage changes in their contextual environment. Geographic proximity also facilitates structuring (Gray 1989).

Hudson (1989) in an analysis of collaboration within the area of social welfare, suggests that for effective collaboration, four features of the organisations within an interorganisational network are important: organisations are aware of their interdependence; similarity of function and structure between agencies exists; domain consensus exists; and a positive view of workers in each sector is necessary (“positive mutual awareness”) (Hudson 1989 in Delaney 1994:220). ‘Domain consensus’ is defined as “consensus on remit and legitimate responsibility” (Delaney 1994:220).

Oliver (1990) examines the facilitating conditions for when each of her contingencies is the primary reason for IOR formation, considering both organisational and environmental factors. The distinction is made between conditions that are generalisable across a range of types of IOR, and relationship-specific conditions, which apply only to a particular type of relationship e.g. a joint programme. Oliver notes that resource dependency and “domain consensus” are generalisable conditions; domain consensus having facilitated the formation of many different types of IOR, particularly in the public service. Domain consensus is defined as the degree to which organisations accept each other’s claims to specific goals and functions (Oliver 1990:250). A number of researchers have shown that the greater the degree of domain consensus among or between organisations, the higher the probability that these organisations will establish relations.²³

To view the issue from another angle, Westley and Vredenburg (1991) identify four factors which may lead to an *unwillingness* or *inability* to collaborate directly: resource or authority constraints (i.e. stakeholders may feel they can solve a problem unilaterally); ideological or cultural constraints that come into play when core values are at stake and compromise is not considered an option; traditional positions of opposition (e.g. business and environmental stakeholders who may view each other as enemies); legal barriers (Gray and Hay 1986; Touval and Zaltman 1985 in Westley and Vredenburg 1991:84). Similarly, Stevenson (1989) has noted five major barriers to collaboration: *Structures and systems* - agencies with different roles, histories, cultures, powers and priorities are expected to work together in a complex and changing environment; *Communication* - Disagreements exist both as to the content of what is to be shared and about the actual value of talking together at all; *Status and perceived power* - Difference in profession, occupational status and power, gender, race, language and public image all contribute to the real and felt power differentials between organisations; *Professional and organisational priorities*; *Extent to which collaboration is perceived as mutually beneficial*.

²³ (Aldrich 1971; Benson 1975; Gillespie and Perry 1975; Levine and White 1961; Litwak and Hylton 1962; Marrett 1971; Molnar and Rogers 1979; Paulson 1976; Thomson 1967; Warren 1967: all in Oliver 1990:250; Schemerhorn 1976; Selin and Beason 1991; Van de Ven 1976)

Other factors that researchers have found to be significant in facilitating IORs include: leadership, and communication by leadership that co-ordination is important (Jennings 1994). Information from the above literature and a sample of further IOR literature has been brought together in Table 3.4, not as an exhaustive analysis, but merely to illustrate the variety of factors said to contribute to IORs.²⁴

TABLE 3.4. Factors influencing relationship development

Conditions influencing formation of IOR	Examples of literature citing factor
Domain consensus	Hudson 1989; Oliver 1990; Selin and Beason 1991; Van de Ven 1976; Van de Ven and Walker 1984
Recognising value of co-operation	Schemerhorn 1975; Selin and Beason 1991; Whetten 1981;
Loss of autonomy	Schemerhorn 1975; Oliver 1991;
Harm to image	Schemerhorn 1975;
Use of scarce organisational resources	Hough 1991; Schemerhorn 1975; Whetten 1981; Ebers and Grandori 1997
Permeability of organisational boundaries	Schemerhorn 1975;
Geographical proximity	Schemerhorn 1975; Selin and Beason 1991
Recognising interdependence	Gray 1985; Hudson 1989; Logsdon 1991; Van de Ven and Walker 1984; Whetten 1981;
Identification of stakeholders	Gray 1985; Gray and Hay 1986; Hardy 1994;
Perceptions of stakeholder legitimacy	Gray 1985;
Power issues	Gray 1985; Stevenson 1989; Bramwell and Sharman 1999;
Similarity of function and structure	Hudson 1989; Schemerhorn 1975; Van de Ven 1976;
Leadership	Jennings 1994; Selin and Myers 1995;
Positive beliefs of outcomes	Gray 1985; Logsdon 1991; Stevenson 1989; Van de Ven 1976
Organisational norms	Hough 1991; Schemerhorn 1975;
Role of convenor or bridging organisation	Aldrich 1976; Brown 1991; Gray 1985;
Coincidence of values	Gray 1985; Hardy 1994; Selin and Beason 1991; Westley and Vredenburg 1991;
Ability to influence contextual environment	Gray 1985;
Traditional positions of opposition	Westley and Vredenburg 1991;
Legal barriers	Westley and Vredenburg 1991;
Structures and systems	Hanf and O'Toole 1992; Stevenson 1989;
Professional/organisational priorities	Stevenson 1989;
Perceived co-operation	Aldrich 1976;
Positive mutual awareness and trust	Hough 1991; Hudson 1989; Selin and Myers 1995; Van de Ven 1976; Whetten 1981; Smith-Ring 1997

3.2 IOR research and tourism

As noted above, there has been a popular call for a co-ordinated approach to tourism planning. Such an approach has been identified as a desirable method of improving communication and achieving regional tourism goals (Gunn 1988; Reid 1987 in Selin and Beason 1991). A co-ordinated or interorganisational approach is also seen to be a requisite of operationalising

²⁴ As only a sample of IOR literature was used in this compilation, there are likely to be further influencing factors not identified in the above table.

sustainable tourism development (Jamal and Getz 1995). Yet Pearce (1992) has commented on the paucity of research on tourism organisations *per se*. And despite the fact that collaboration among organisations has received widespread attention in several research disciplines, “the potential application of this body of knowledge for managing the complex and dynamic tourism domain has not been clearly addressed” (Jamal and Getz 1995:187). Only recently has there been interest in applying the IOR approach to the field of tourism (Selin and Beason 1991). Furthermore, a lack of studies that employ theoretical frameworks and method associated with the analysis of inter-organisational collaboration in tourism has been identified (Long 1996).

Whilst some work has been undertaken focusing mainly on cooperative approaches to tourism marketing (e.g. Teye 1988, Zins 1987 both in Jamal and Getz 1995; Palmer and Bejou 1995), such work is largely devoid of IOR theory. In fact Selin and Beason’s (1991) study of the relationships between the U.S. Forest Service and tourism advocacy and marketing organisations is not only the first, but one of the few to adopt a purely IOR approach to a tourism issue. The aims of the study were to find what forms of deliberate relations exist between the two organisations; the extent to which those relations were co-operative or conflicting; and what organisational and environmental factors explain the nature of the relationship. Using structured interviews, the authors assessed goal similarity and conflict, domain consensus, goal knowledge, independence and competition etc. This study reported a lack of co-operative relations across all organisations, and produced empirical evidence to show that lack of awareness and differing ideologies act as barriers to communication between natural resource managers and tourism advocacy organisations (Selin and Beason 1991:649). The authors attribute this partly to tourism managers still adhering to an organisation set theory where theirs is the focal point, and other organisations are viewed as outside constituents. The recommendation was made that tourism managers adopt a more domain-level focus and consider the interdependencies among organisations when making decisions. Practical steps to help implement this recommendation are listed, including the possible need for a third party or convenor to initiate dialogue and sustain effective collaboration. Selin and Beason note the need for future research to examine co-ordination among various public sector tourism agencies (Selin and Beason 1991).

Trends in tourism towards collaborative actions have been outlined by a number of authors (e.g. Selin 1993). A number of examples of public-private co-operative efforts and participation by community members in local tourism planning and destination management are present in the tourism literature (e.g. Jamal and Getz 1995; Getz and Jamal 1994; Gill and Williams 1994; McGinnis 1992, Murphy 1988, Oaks 1992, and Ritchie 1993 all in Jamal and Getz 1995:192; Bramwell and Sharman 1999; Jamal 1999). While none of these studies

specifically adopts IOR theory, they collectively indicate the need to involve key stakeholders, and to refine decision making for successful collaboration within the above domain (Jamal 1999). Other studies identify collaborative efforts being made in tourism planning (e.g. Timothy 2000; Ritchie 2000).

Jamal and Getz (1995) apply a closely related approach, using collaboration theory, which focuses on interorganisational collaboration, to community tourism planning, specifically of community-based tourism destinations. Collaboration theory draws from aspects of IOR work, collaboration being defined as “a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain” (Jamal and Getz 1995:97). Collaboration is seen to be an important means to advance the collective good of stakeholders in tourism, and is becoming increasingly recognised as being significant for tourism (e.g. Selin and Beason 1991; Jamal and Getz 1995; Hall 2000). Importantly, it is argued that the emphasis on sharing power and participation in collaboration means that such approaches fulfil one of the requirements of sustainability (and hence sustainable tourism), that is, the requirement for equity (Hall 2000). However, although collaboration *may* be emerging as an important process in tourism, (e.g. Edwards *et al.* (1998 in Hall 2000) study of American government tourism agencies, which revealed extensive collaboration with other government agencies) other empirical research indicates that there are still significant barriers to collaborative planning (e.g. Selin and Myers 1995; Selin *et al* 1997).

Jamal and Getz (1995) arrive at a set of propositions relating to the key conditions facilitating tourism planning collaborations at the community level. The propositions revolve around the necessity for: recognition of interdependence; recognition of benefits of collaboration; perception of legitimacy and power of process (that decisions arrived at will be implemented); inclusion of key stakeholders; role of convenor; joint formulation of tourism goals and objectives. Using Gray’s (1985, 1989) model; of the collaboration process (see Table 2.4 above), each proposition is considered to be an essential facilitator for one or more of the three stages of domain development. Most importantly, Jamal and Getz point out that these propositions can be applied to underorganised domains. It is noted, however, that collaboration in tourism planning domains might only be achievable among certain stakeholder groups and within specific decision-making parameters. The authors call for empirical research into the identification of the facilitators and inhibitors to collaboration in tourism domains. They also call for research into the stages and implementation of the collaboration process, and into the development of appropriate structures for the ongoing management of the planning domain (Jamal and Getz 1995:201).

Selin and Chavez (1994) undertook a qualitative study examining three community tourism partnerships in the USA, identifying factors contributing to partnership effectiveness. Their study identified several important factors: administrative support, flexible protocols, shared vision, mutual adjustment, staff continuity and setting new goals (Selin and Chavez 1994 in Selin and Myers 1995:38). In a later study, Selin and Myers (1995) examined the correlates of partnership effectiveness from the participants' perspective, of a broad based regional partnership established to protect and promote for recreation, in the Eastern Sierra region of the United States. Influential factors included: administrative support, level of trust (among partners), sense of belonging, and strong leadership. The authors called for managers to support partnerships, beyond the level of "lip service" (Selin and Myers 1995:45).

In summary, collaboration and interorganisational relationships in general, are areas that have received a growing amount of attention over recent years. Tourism as an industry has not escaped the reach of this new "partnership paradigm". Although numerous sources suggest an increased importance of partnerships for tourism, empirical research reveals the complexity of creating and maintaining relationships in the face of a broad range of personal (interpretive) and institutional (contextual) obstacles. Whilst research into these obstacles or inhibiting factors has begun to identify some consistencies in terms of the facilitating and inhibiting factors, most research has focused upon forces originating in the organisations or the personnel within them: or rather the research has been framed in terms of such forces emerging from these areas. As Hardy (1994) notes, little research has considered the political aspects of the IOR process. Few, if any of these studies have focused upon the influence of broader macro-scale policy and social, political, economic or environmental forces on interorganisational relations: for example, how does macro-economic policy influence relations among tourism organisations – especially government-funded organisations? Similarly, how does the concept of sustainability, institutionalised or otherwise, influence collaboration and relationships? And finally, the link between these macro-scale or contextual variables and the more personal scale or interpretive variables has yet to receive adequate attention.

3.2.1 Tourism IORs and the underorganised domain

Although the number of empirical studies is small, the IOR -based studies outlined above have supported views held by tourism researchers from other disciplines that barriers to effective collaboration occur within the tourism policy field, and particularly with respect to natural resource-based or protected area-based tourism. Specific inhibiting factors identified from empirical research have been lack of domain consensus, lack of awareness (of other stakeholders and their positions), differing ideologies, lack of shared vision, lack of trust, lack of leadership, and lack of administrative support.

These initial findings fit in well with the results of broader IOR research into the facilitators and inhibitors of IOR generally. From this work, IOR theory would describe the tourism-protected area problem domain as being underorganised. And as indicated by IOR theory (notwithstanding research which has suggested that a degree of underorganisation or conflict may be advantageous), underorganised domains may not be as effective in ascribing solutions to perceived problems, because of a lack of collaboration or coordination, and hence a consequent shortfall of the resources needed to cope with the said problem. Or underorganised domains that have taken the form of conflict or competition may even exacerbate the problem under consideration.

Among other factors, domain consensus or rather, lack of domain consensus would appear to be a significant factor in the relationship between tourism stakeholders (e.g. Selin and Beason 1991). The broader literature has indicated that significant differences exist in the values placed on protected areas. Questions are raised over the validity of tourism as a use, particularly in the context of an increasingly well recognised role for parks in the preservation of biodiversity. The literature also indicated an ambivalence in the approach of protected area managers towards tourism.

The issue of sustainability may also throw a stumbling block in the path of interorganisation co-operation, simply because of the ambiguity and broad range of interpretations of the concept. For example, Westley and Vredenburg (1991) in their study of collaboration between environmentalists and business in the marketing of green products, found that:

The concept of sustainable development framed a problem domain that was highly underorganised. In practice, many groups on both sides had only a hazy notion of their responsibilities in the domain, or of the domain's parameters (Westley and Vredenburg (1991:72).

Westley and Vredenburg (1991:72) note the difficulty of creating common "institutional thought structures" on the basis of divergent values. In this case, such divergence contributed to the failure of efforts to establish a collaborative relationship.

For the policy domain in question, a significant point is that there must be some shared perception about the scope and definition of 'sustainable tourism development'. This key factor will impact upon whether the domain is 'developed' or 'under-developed' and consequently whether the relationship could be considered functional or dysfunctional in terms of co-ordinated, collaborative and inclusive policy outcomes.

3.3 The stakeholders under consideration in this study

Two groupings of organisations will be considered for this study (the organisations are described in full in following chapters): the key organisations are a protected area management agency and a national tourism organisation. By national tourism organisation, it is meant that organisation that has primarily a role of tourism promotion and tourism policy for the nation and is comprised of elements of both the public and private sectors.

Inevitably, there are other stakeholders, which have varying degrees of influence within this problem domain, for example protected area users, indigenous peoples, host communities, tourism businesses and conservation organisations. The secondary organisations that this study will consider comprise a sub sample of this range of interests: the environmental non-governmental organisations with a focus upon protected area management; and a prominent tourism lobby group. The environmental non-governmental organisations are considered to be important for this study because of their perceived role in sustainable tourism planning (Inskeep 1991). Similarly, tourism lobby groups have also typically been influential among the range of stakeholders that are involved in tourism planning and are said to have a key role in the manifestation of tourism in protected areas.

Although the omission of other stakeholders concedes that the domain will not be fully empirically researched, the role of these groups will be acknowledged through the case study. It could also be argued that to a degree, the views of some of these groups (e.g. indigenous peoples, user groups) as they have been incorporated into the policies of protected area management where legislation often demands a pluralistic stakeholder style of policy formulation, are an implicitly recognised part of this study.

However, the main focus of the study will be on the two key stakeholder groups described above, the justification for this being that they have ultimate control over key resources which will influence the nature of the impact of tourism on protected areas. Hollinshead (1990) in his study of the relationship between tourism and recreation in Australia identifies selective influences within the control of the public and private sectors with respect to the supply and demand for tourism. Within the resource dependence framework of IOR theory, these could be considered to represent some of the resources either held or sought after by the key stakeholders in this study (Figure 3.1).

FIGURE 3.1. The public sector and tourism: selective influences and control
(after Hollinshead 1990:45)

Public -sector techniques to influence supply (protected area management agencies)

- Land-use planning (e.g. by designation)
- Influence over development (e.g. control over size, parking etc.)
- Control over infrastructure (e.g. provision of roads, harbours, water supply etc.)
- Influence over activities (e.g. licensing of concessionaires, charges, quotas, seasons, type of activities)

Public-private sector techniques to influence demand (tourism organisations)

- Influence on prices (e.g. through tourist taxes)
 - Influence through marketing (e.g. via local, state and national offices)
 - Influence through information (e.g. via local, state and national outlets and official publications)
-

Hall (2000) expands upon these to include a number of other factors, a number of which have relevance to this study, including: the use of argument and persuasion; government support for non-governmental organisations; and deliberate non-intervention. Through the manipulation of these resources, stakeholders can impact the nature of tourism within protected areas. For example a significant resource of the protected area agencies is that of authority: authority to allow access to protected areas for tourism activities, and authority to influence the nature and extent of these activities in many respects. A significant resource of the tourism organisations is the authority they have to influence the numbers and types of tourists in a nation, region or locality.

Another resource is the ability to influence “national tourism policy” - that is, tourism policy that is adopted by governments through national tourism organisations, regarding the level and nature of tourism within a country - and consequently the nature and impact of tourism within protected areas. Aspects of national tourism policy that may have such ramifications include: policy regarding national targets for tourism numbers or tourism foreign exchange earnings, or tourism employment; target markets, and the type of tourist that is sought; the type and range of destinations that are promoted and the level of promotion; the existence and effectiveness of policy concerning the environmental considerations of tourism development and operations; and the form of consultation and co-operation required (if any) with other tourism stakeholders.

3.3.1 The critical contingencies of relationship formation for the tourism-protected area domain

In light of known features of the tourism sector, several reasons could be proposed for why IORs would form in the domain of protected area tourism. Using Oliver's (1990) convenient classification of the critical contingencies of IOR formation, these reasons are outlined in Table 3.5.

Oliver's framework for explaining why organisations enter relationships is an important contributory component of the framework for this analysis. It provides an organisational level means of viewing IORs and a convenient framework for integrating the effects of broader, macro-scale (e.g. economic, political) influences into the analysis of relationships. This, combined with the extensive list of facilitating and inhibiting factors that act upon relationships at other levels (e.g. the individual), helps provide a multi-levelled analysis. Oliver's work is also seen to be applicable to the study domain, as a number of these contingencies are observable in practice in relationships within protected area tourism. For example, the contingency of asymmetry is observable in the action of protected area management agencies seeking to restrict visitor numbers through various carrying capacity or related frameworks, zoning or by the use of quotas. Similarly, the earlier discussion (Chapter Two) on declining funding for protected area agencies indicates the validity of efficiency and/or reciprocity as critical contingencies for forming relationships or partnerships to help offset a shrinking resource-base. And from the previous discussion (Chapter Two) on sustainable development, it appears that that paradigm is having the effect of driving business (including tourism) organisations to seek legitimacy through relationships with publicly benign organisations.

TABLE 3.5. Reasons why tourism interests and protected area managers may desire to enter into interorganisational relations.

Critical contingency (Oliver 1990)	Reasons for entering into relationship from perspective of tourism promotional organisation	Reasons for entering into relationship from perspective of protected area management agency
Reciprocity Organisations seek to facilitate exchange of resources	May seek understanding of importance of tourism as an industry and seek more co-operation from protected area managers	May seek understanding of the potential impacts of tourism and the need for limits on tourism development
Efficiency Organisations seek to reduce costs of service delivery	May cut down legal costs associated with establishing or expanding operations. Or may undertake joint marketing of protected areas	May reduce legal and other costs of confrontation with tourism interests. Or may utilise tourism promoter's expertise and contacts in marketing of protected area
Stability Organisations seek to share risks, and reduce uncertainty	With trend toward eco-centric management of protected areas, perception of unstable environment for tourism interests	With increasing tourist numbers and political pressure for the accessibility of protected areas for tourism, perception of loss of control of domain
Necessity Organisations are mandated by external force	Due to legislation requiring government organisations to consult and identify areas of potential partnership.	With reduced direct government funding for protected area management, may require tourism-generated revenue for survival of agency
Legitimacy Organisations seek to demonstrate norms of co-operation	With increased awareness of tourism impacts and greater conservation awareness, may seek to align with agency that has positive public image and produce image of co-operation re: sustainable tourism development	To produce image of co-operation with industry and avoid accusations of "locking up" resource, may enter into public relationship with tourism interests.

3.3.2 Criticisms of interorganisational relations research orientation

In shaping the research approach, it is useful to consider critiques of the IOR framework and methodology. Whetten (1982) provides a comprehensive critique of IOR research, noting several deficiencies. First, he criticises the “pro-co-ordination” orientation of much IOR research, which assumes that co-ordination is (and implicitly should be) the ultimate goal of

all IOR. Thus IOR tends to ignore strategies used by individual organisations to “subvert systemic goals that are threatening their autonomy”, and also tends to ignore more subtle forms of IOR (Whetten 1982:101). In a similar vein, Hardy (1994) comments that the role of conflict in helping to achieve organisational goals deserves greater attention.

With respect to those undertaking organisational research, Kaplan (1984 in Menzel 1987:11) refers to a “cult of co-ordination” that has a league of blind devotees. Others are critical of organisational models that assume that successful implementation is dependent on a common conception of policy that is shared by all participants in the implementation process (Menzel 1987). The implication being that conflict and bargaining among groups where there is no commonality of purpose, may be just as effective as a co-ordinated approach. These criticisms do, however, ignore the fact that *some* co-ordination is necessary in order to reach the implementation phase, and to place stakeholders in positions where even conflict and bargaining may be useful. Indeed, although conflict may be necessary in order to keep essential relationships “alive”, the existence of a co-operative element in a relationship may direct the conflict towards constructive solutions (Dubois and Hakansson 1997).

Another important criticism of IOR research is that it has seldom included more than one level of analysis in the same study (Whetten 1982; Hardy 1994). Whetten refers to four possible levels of analysis and stresses the value of pursuing research simultaneously at a number of these levels:

1. The context of an IOR - political, economic, historic etc.
2. The characteristics of an interorganisational network.
3. The macro-characteristics of specific IO dyadic linkages
4. The characteristics of the micro, interpersonal linkages

In this hierarchy of levels, the lower numbered categories represent contextual conditions for the higher numbered ones. Whetten stresses the importance of incorporating wider environmental considerations into IOR analysis, and in particular the significance of historical contextualisation, noting that even one “bad experience” of an organisation in terms of IOR can seriously influence further relations. This is further supported by other researchers such as Selin (1998), who observes that protracted (past) conflict may inhibit current attempts at collaboration. The historical background of the relations between organisations is a source of crucial interpretations on both a personal and organisational level, that may emerge as inhibitors of interagency co-ordination (Halpert 1982). As organisations interact over a period of time, specific images of each other take form and become institutionalised - these images may become difficult to change. But despite the apparent significance of history, it has been observed that IOR analysis is typically ahistorical (Whetten 1982:111). Lacking an historical base, studies of contemporary relationships cannot begin to accurately define what it is that is

actually inhibiting relations, and pinpoint the source of conflict. For that reason, this study employs an historical analysis as a means of understanding the forces that have shaped and continue to shape IORs in this domain.

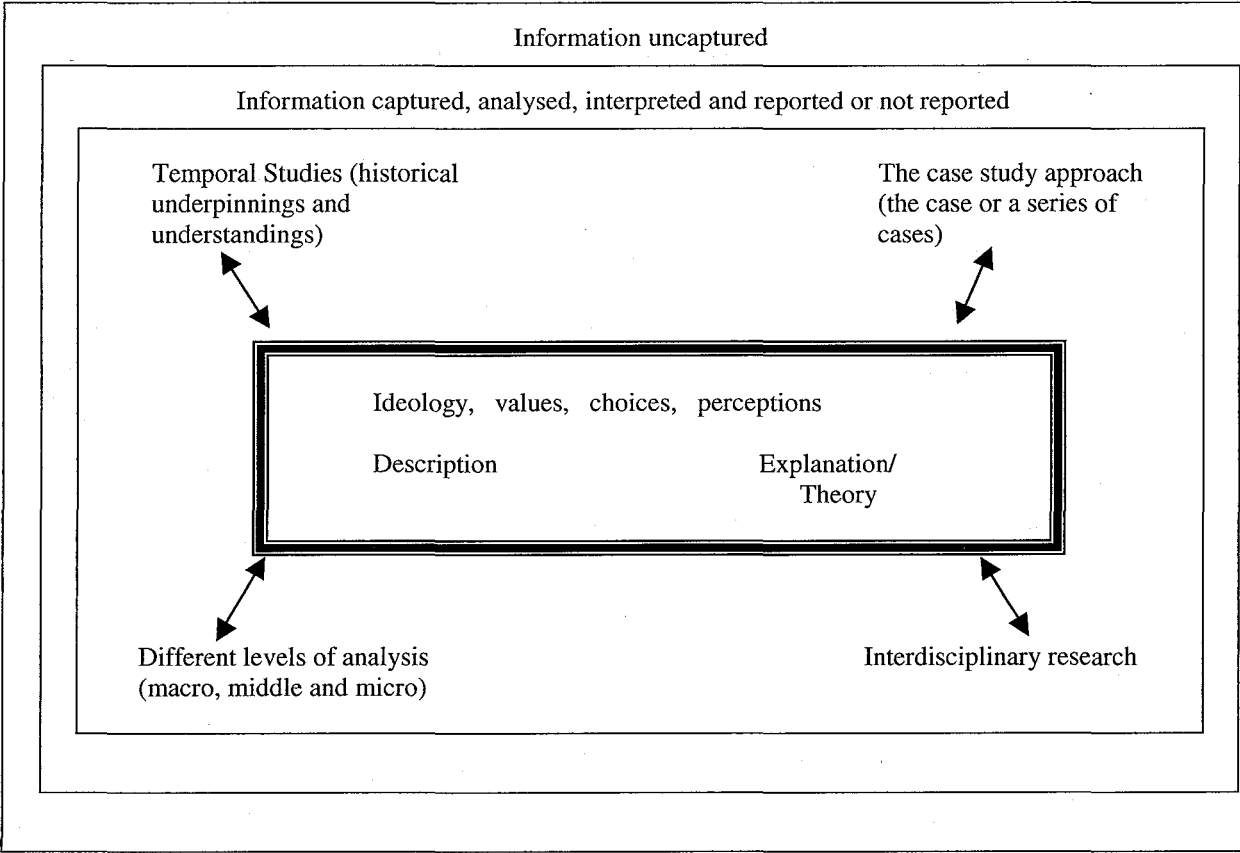
Benson (1982) also argues for a greater consideration of context, arguing that the principle failure of IOR research is its de-contextualised character. He writes that “interorganisational phenomena - dyads, sets, networks - are theorised as if context-free” and that IOR research “dissolves class conflict, relations of state and economy, bureaucracy and other critical macro-structural problems into more palatable and seemingly more manageable difficulties of resource blockage, domain conflict etc.” (Benson 1982:145). This links with Rogers and Mulford’s (1982) discussion of how different philosophies and strategies of co-ordination are closely associated with general environmental conditions present at a particular time. As with management of single organisations, philosophies of management and approaches to the co-ordination of multiple organisations also reflect important forces in the social and economic environment in which organisations operate. Rogers and Mulford identify four managerial ideologies in the human service industry that have reigned successively from 1850 to 1980 (each influenced by wider political and economic ideologies) and describe how these in turn impact upon interorganisational management structures and practices. More recently we have entered a period where management theory emphasises stakeholders, collaboration and network development (Hall 2000), with obvious ramifications for interorganisational relations globally.

Furthermore, the value of contextualising IOR within multi-levelled policy sectors is also evident. Benson (1982) describes a policy sector as a collection of interorganisational networks consisting of resource dependencies between organisations, and argues that within each sector, “a deep structure of structured interests and rules of structure formation, control (sets limits upon and poses challenges for) a surface level of policy paradigms and administrative arrangements” (Benson 1982:175). In addition, Benson also identifies a lack of concern with power and conflict in analyses of IOR. To sum up, “the production of interorganisational theories and the production of interorganisational phenomena must be grounded in a conception of the totality” (Benson 1982:175).

The above requirements for “good” IOR research overlap, to a degree, with the methodological elements of Hall and Jenkins’ (1995) conceptual framework (Fig 3.2) for studying tourism public policy. Specifically that public policy should be analysed at a number of levels (macro, meso and micro) coincides with calls (e.g. Whetten 1982; Hardy 1994) for multi-levelled IOR research. This approach is further supported by Knoke (1990) who refers to the need to undertake research at the individual, organisational and systemic levels. Citing

Aldrich (1979 in Knoke 1990:52) “no organisation is an island”, Knoke stresses the need for organisational research to consider the “environment”, for example, the macro-social conditions, in which organisations operate. Similarly, Hall and Jenkins (1995) observation that policy should be studied over time reinforces Whetten’s (1982) and others’ call (above) for the need for IOR research to be historically situated.

FIGURE 3.2. A research framework (Hall and Jenkins 1995a:95)



Thus Hall and Jenkins (1995) research framework provides a firm basis for guiding this study, and most of their criteria are met through the particular theoretical and methodological approaches employed in this study (e.g. IOR research is inherently interdisciplinary (Ebers 1997)). However, following on from the above criticisms of the IOR approach, and given the specific requirements of this study, it is apparent that an additional, more specific, organising framework is indicated.

3.3.3 A framework for this study

There are a number of key issues that need to be considered when developing an organising framework for this study. The issues emerge from the previous critique of conventional application of IOR theory and can be summarised as follows: 1) IOR theory typically fails to address multiple levels of analysis, that is, macro, meso and micro, often emphasising only meso or micro. While failing to address these levels even in isolation from one another, it also

fails to provide a means by which one can conceptualise the relationship between these levels; 2) Just as the dynamics of the various levels in and of themselves (macro, meso and micro) AND in relation to one another are ignored or downplayed, so too is the role of history and historic relationships. The theory informs research that has typically focussed on the micro and contemporary – and thus does not allow for any long-term temporal understanding of the nature of relationships within any domain. Thus, IOR theory, is, as it stands, largely static (fails to adequately address process and change) and also wanting with respect to how one might conceptualise the relationship between various levels,

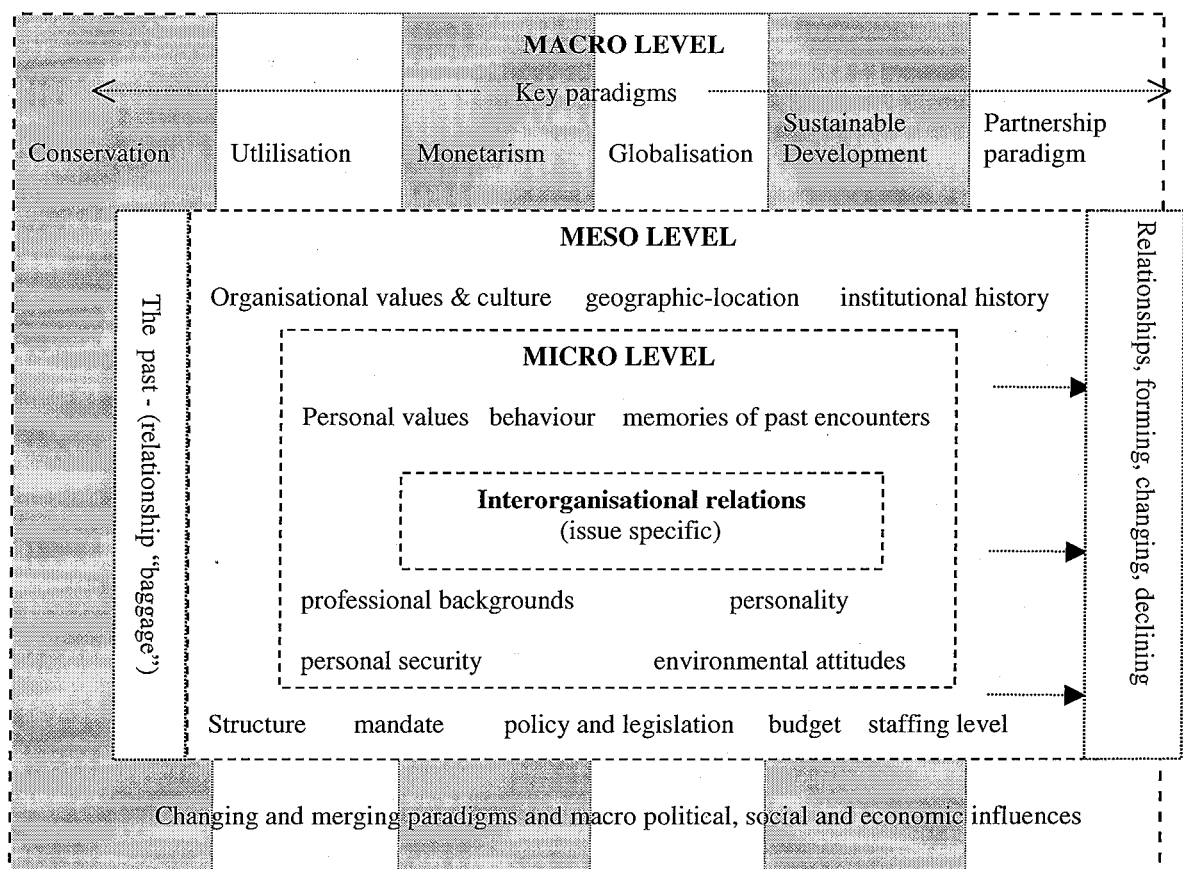


FIGURE. 3.3 A conceptual framework for this study

The objectives outlined for this study (see Chapter One) are informed by an understanding of the contemporary focus on sustainable tourism development: advocates of sustainable development argue that collaborative relationships are a precursor to realising sustainable tourism development. In order to understand the nature, extent and dynamics of contemporary relationships between stakeholders in this domain, it is crucial to provide an historical basis upon which to base any analysis. Because in any contemporary context there is always historic residue – that is structural realities (how the organisation is structured – therefore how the actors are constrained, policy etc, how participants understand this history – therefore how

it shapes their perceptions of what relationships are possible etc) go right from the macro, meso to micro – and at various times this residue shifts and changes. So there is a need to document what has happened – in order to understand the dynamics of how these happenings shape the contemporary realities.

Figure 3.3 outlines an organising framework for this study. The framework builds upon that provided by Hall and Jenkins (1995) and also upon that proposed by Pearce (1992) for studying tourism organisations. The framework identifies the requirement to address multiple levels – micro, meso and macro and their various manifestations (policy etc), and the need to consider the interplay between these various levels over time. By providing the opportunity to integrate data from multiple levels, the framework is a response to criticism that sustainability and thus sustainable tourism research fails to consider wider social, political and economical factors. The IOR approach applied within this framework allows micro-scale manifestations of the sustainable tourism process to be placed within the context of some of the economic and social forces that shape the nature of tourism (Williams and Shaw 1998). These forces are represented within the framework by key paradigms such as globalisation, monetarism, partnership, and indeed, the paradigms of sustainability itself.

Thus, at each level, the framework considers a range of facilitating and inhibiting factors. The framework adopted in this study also assumes that the values, choices and perceptions of participants/organisations are shaped at least in part by the nature of historical relationships at any given time. Additionally, the framework recognises that history shapes all levels but possibly in different ways. Thus the framework acknowledges not only the dynamic nature of relationships, but also the influence of past relationship “baggage” on contemporary relationships.

3.3.4 The approach of this study and what it will contribute

This study adopts an interorganisational relations approach to the issue of sustainable tourism in protected areas. The point of departure of the study will be that collaborative IC Rs are of value to the implementation of sustainable tourism development for protected areas. Hence the obstacles and opportunities for interorganisational relations, also serve as obstacles and opportunities for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism for protected areas.

This study will contribute to the small but growing field of IOR research within the tourism sector. As has been outlined above, the number of such studies is small, and most studies have focused on community partnerships or efforts in collaboration, or marketing alliances, mainly at the local or regional level, and with limited research undertaken on relationships between protected area managers, tourism organisations, and interest groups at a national level.

This study will contribute to our understanding of the nature of the relationship between protected area managers, tourism advocacy organisations and interest groups. It thus adds to what is seen as a limited body of research on tourism organisations and their relationships. The nature of the IOR between the above organisations will be documented and described at the national level and the various facilitators and inhibitors of IOR will be investigated, within a broad social, political and economic context. Although some authors (e.g. Selin and Beason 1991) call for further IOR research at the local level because they believe that it is at the local level that tourism planning should logically occur, there are obvious ramifications for local communities and tourism destinations, of policy decisions that are made at the national level by both national tourism advocacy organisations and by protected area managers. Hence by focusing on IOR at the national level, this study is implicitly addressing concerns that will impact upon tourism issues at a range of levels.

The study will utilise an IOR approach to address a number of issues. First, the issue of domain development will be addressed, and the state of domain development will be described for the study domain. In particular, the issue of domain underorganisation will be addressed. Hardy's (1994) model of underorganisation or partial organisation will be a starting point for this aspect of the research. An attempt will be made to expand Hardy's model of underorganisation by examining both the reasons and conditions for relationship formation, and a range of facilitating and inhibiting factors acting upon the relationships, and thus the domain. Here, Oliver's (1990) critical contingencies of relationship formation will inform the analysis, along with a broad literature on the facilitators and inhibitors of relationships.

Importantly, the study will attempt to address criticism of IOR research that it fails to consider multiple levels of analysis. Incorporation of IOR theory and adoption of the specific research framework outlined above (Fig 3.3) allows the simultaneous consideration of multiple levels of influence upon the relationships within the study domain. That is, this study not only considers the micro (a common approach to date) or personal factors involved in shaping relationships, but also the organisational level, and larger macro scale influences, and indeed their inter-relationships. Of specific interest is the way in which key contextual factors such as macro-economic reform, and the new emphases on sustainability and indeed partnerships impact upon relationships within the domain and are translated to organisational and personal levels. Thus the study attempts to link the contextual and interpretive variables acting upon relationships.

The study will also address the pro-co-ordination criticism of IOR research, by examining the role of conflict. One means of achieving this is by including interest groups in this study, groups whose modes of action may go outside the normal bounds of what is considered to be

‘collaborative’ behaviour. Thus this study implicitly questions the role of collaboration and addresses the potential role of conflict in the sustainable tourism milieu.

Moreover, again in response to the limited ahistorical approach of much IOR research, the study will adopt an historic approach by sketching primarily through document analysis the history of relationships in the domain. This will not only permit a greater understanding of contemporary relations by examining the effect of relationship “baggage”, but may also allow the analysis of any relationship patterns that emerge, with respect to contextual variables predominant at the time.

Furthermore, the study will advance understanding of both the meaning and operationalisation of sustainable tourism development. It is acknowledged that ‘sustainability’ is a problematic notion, however, it is clear that it has been incorporated into the vernacular. This empirical study will investigate how key stakeholders define ‘sustainable tourism development’ and will examine commonalities and differences in the perception of sustainable tourism development between the organisations. We have already seen that historically the theme of preservation versus utility has been an historical constant; what we need to know is if the shift towards sustainable development represents a fundamental shift away from the historical precursor of ‘preserve’ or ‘utilise’.

And most importantly, through the IOR approach, the study will contribute to our practical knowledge of the obstacles and opportunities for co-ordinated planning (and ultimately for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism development) within this part of the tourism sector. The research framework with its contextual focus will also allow consideration to be given to the neglected link between the debates on sustainability and those on the wider political economy (Williams and Shaw 1998).

The next chapter will outline the methodological approach adopted for this study with the above considerations in mind. Methodological concerns arising from the approach are discussed.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Methodology adopted for this study

4.1.1 The case study approach

In response to Hall and Jenkins' (1995) prescription for tourism research, the study adopts a case study approach, investigating relationships among key stakeholders within the Canadian national park – tourism policy domain. The study may in fact be considered as a series of linked mini case studies – each one addressing an individual dyadic linkage – but linked together by the overall wider national socio-political context within which the organisations are located.

The case study is a widely accepted approach used to assist in the understanding of complex social phenomena (Yin 1994) and as such is considered an appropriate means of examining relationships in this domain. Yin (1994:23) defines a case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident: and in which multiple sources of evidence are used”.

There are three areas where case studies may be particularly useful: understanding how policy develops; where there is considerable scale and complexity in policy tasks; and to identify purposeful behaviour of the actors involved - that is, why decisions were made (Hall *et al.* 1975).

4.1.2 Suitability of the case study approach for this research

Yin (1994) notes that *explanatory* (as opposed to exploratory or descriptive) “how” and “why” questions lend themselves to the use of case studies as preferred research strategies. For this study, the need for a case study approach arose out of the initial key research questions that the study posed within such an explanatory framework:

- How do national park and tourism organisations interact?
- Why do interorganisational relationships between national park and tourism organisations assume certain forms?

Yin goes on to explain how the case study approach can uniquely add to knowledge of often-complex individual, organisational, social and political phenomena. This is supported by Sarantakos (1998) and Denscombe (2000) who praise the utility of case studies in the investigation of complex social phenomena, and when the researcher is interested in the structure, process and outcomes of a single unit. The case study approach was adopted for this study due to the acknowledged complexities of interorganisational relations research (Whetten

1982). This type of research involves the analysis of interactions at both personal and organisational levels, as well as the need to consider broader social, political, and economic influences.

A further unique strength of the case study is its ability to consider a variety of evidence e.g. documents, interviews, observations (Yin 1994). With respect to this study, a case study approach appeared suitable because of the acknowledged requirement to minimise reciprocity errors in IOR research through multiple measures of constructs (Whetten 1982).

4.1.3 Critique of the case study approach

Notwithstanding the above advantages of case studies, the approach is not without criticism. A common concern about case studies is that because of temporal and spatial limits they provide little basis for generalisation. However, Hall and Jenkins (1994) believe that criticising a case study purely on the superficial notion that it is a one-off exercise is fruitless. Citing Davis *et al.* (1993 in Hall and Jenkins 1995a:99) they note that case studies meet the maxim that “ideas need to be tested against local experience”. Yin (1994) also addresses this concern in noting that case studies *are* generalisable to theoretical positions, but not to populations or universes. This potential weakness is also noted by Denscombe (2000), who views this fear, along with others about the case study approach, as being unwarranted and unjustifiable. However, Denscombe does take this criticism on board, arguing that in order to address criticism over the specificity of case studies, the researcher needs to be able to demonstrate the extent to which the case is similar to or contrasts with others of its type.

To an extent, the credibility of generalisations is related to the care taken in selection of the case study unit. In this research, (as discussed in 4.1.3 and 4.1.4) the case study unit is a “typical instance” (Denscombe 2000:33) and similar in crucial respects with others that might have been chosen: the findings therefore, are likely to apply elsewhere. Furthermore, careful attention to research vigour will help allay some of these preconceptions about the use of case studies (Denscombe 2000). In this study (as discussed below in 4.2.3), a triangulation approach has been employed to reduce sampling error and increase the reliability of data. Also, in this study, an historical approach has been utilised to mitigate the temporal limitations of the case study method.

4.1.4 Case studies in tourism and interorganisational relations research

Over a decade ago, Stear (1989) reported a shortage of useful case studies in tourism. The rapid growth of tourism-related research has now meant that this no longer really applies, with a substantial database of case study based tourism research now available. However, although the case study may now be a relatively common approach in tourism research, some fields have been relatively overlooked. Hall and Jenkins (1995) note that few (case study-based)

comprehensive tourism policy studies have been undertaken – despite this approach having been well utilised in the policy studies field. This largely holds true today, with relatively few tourism policy case studies having been published since that time (e.g. Doorne 1998; Chakravarty 1999; Fennell, Buckley and Weaver 2000; Evans 2000;).

However, recently, there have been a small number of case studies published on tourism collaboration and partnerships (e.g. Andereck 1997; Selin et al 1997; LaPage et al 1995; and Selin and Chavez 1995). Most recently, tourism collaboration research has culminated in an edited collection (Bramwell and Lane 2000) that includes a number of case studies. None of these, however, adopts a specific IOR approach, although there are some theoretical commonalities with the work of Parker (2000) and Jamal and Getz (2000). The only tourism case studies specifically using an IOR approach are those of Selin and Myers (1995) and Selin and Beason (1991). Both of these undertakings have made effective use of the case study approach to describe relationships and policy processes, and also to develop theory in these areas.

4.1.5 The case study location

Canada was chosen for the case study partly because of administrative convenience, primarily because the writer was to be residing in Canada over the period of PhD fieldwork (approximately two years). Although pragmatic factors such as convenience are seen as being valid in the selection of a case study site (Denscombe 2000), there are a number of further contributory reasons for the choice of Canada. Many of these come under the general heading of “typical instance” (Denscombe 2000:33). This study was initially proposed as an inter-country comparative study, with Canada and New Zealand as the cases. Although the comparative aspect was discontinued, Canada possesses certain features in terms of its similarity with developed nations of the new world such as New Zealand, Australia, and the United States that lends itself very well to potentially valuable comparative studies with these nations (Jenkins 1995). Despite the absence of a federal political system in New Zealand, there are a number of commonalities, which include:

- Predominantly Anglo 19th Century settler societies
- Tourism bases heavily reliant upon natural resources
- Common patterns of development of national park system
- Similarities in national park legislation, management and institutional arrangements
- Similarities in institutional arrangements for national tourism marketing and policy development

Thus the broad social, political and economic settings and more specifically the institutional setting for the case study have much in common with a range of other settler societies. Thus

this particular case is similar in many important respects to others that might have been chosen, and thus the findings from the case study are therefore more likely to apply elsewhere, and invite comparative research (Denscombe 2000).

In further support of the Canadian case study being a 'typical instance', like many other locations, Canada has a well-established national park system that has been closely linked with its tourism industry from the outset. Also in common with other locales there have been recent public concerns expressed about the ability of the national park system to meet the increasing demand that tourism is placing upon it (e.g. CPAWS 1995; Auditor General of Canada 1996). Consequently Canada as a location for a case study offers the advantages of having a well-developed debate on national park and tourism issues and a dynamic policy domain in this respect.

Case study selection may also be on the basis of "extreme instance" (Denscombe 2000:33). Whilst the social and institutional settings of the Canada case study may be typical, as described above, there are also some aspects of the case study that appear to be in contrast with the norm: these are in the area of Canada's prominence and progressiveness in policy development for sustainable development. Canada has traditionally been prominent in the natural resource management and tourism literature, and recently, Canada has attained some prominence in the area of sustainable development, being seen to be at the forefront of policy and practice in this field (Paehlke 2000). Thus because of Canada's perceived state of advance in policy relating to sustainable development, the site selection is justified in terms of 'extreme case'. And on a pragmatic note, lessons gained from this study, and disseminated through academia, government and industry may contribute to a certain amount of 'policy learning' (Pearce 1993), to the benefit of other countries active within this policy field.

4.1.6 The initial comparative study proposal

The study organisations were initially chosen because of their potential suitability for forming part of a comparative study between Canada and New Zealand. Canada's *national* parks agency and *national* tourism organisation were selected rather than their provincial counterparts because New Zealand does not have a federal political and administrative system for park or tourism management. Thus Parks Canada and the Canadian Tourism Commission were chosen as the key study organisations because directly comparable organisations exist in New Zealand. Ultimately, when the scale of the Canadian case study became apparent, the comparative study was abandoned, but in the writer's opinion, future research in this area would be valuable in terms of providing insight into essential relationships and processes, and there are enough structural similarities between these two locations to sustain a comparative analysis.

However, the abandonment of the comparative study raises questions about the continued suitability of the study design. With its focus on national tourism and parks organisations, would the study still have the same degree of credibility and purpose, and would the study design need to be changed, perhaps to include a broader range of organisations? As discussed above, the initial study design included a comparative aspect with New Zealand. This was in order to increase the value of the research in two ways: firstly to help address some of the perceived shortcomings of the case study approach i.e. its specificity, and limitations of generalisation; secondly, to foster policy learning in the area of sustainable tourism and protected natural area management. In continuing with a non-comparative, Canada-specific study, the value or vigour of the research is not weakened, because, as Denscombe (2000) notes, the preconceived weaknesses of case studies may be addressed through a vigorous research design (as discussed in 4.2.3) for example through using a *range* of data sources, as indeed this study has done. Furthermore, it could be argued that abandoning the comparative aspect allows a more indepth focus (for the same amount of research resources available) upon the Canadian policy domain: indeed, this is the fundamental value of the case study approach, to provide an indepth study of one research unit; as Denscombe (2000) argues, there is value in focusing upon one research unit, and thus not diluting research efficacy. And furthermore, the Canada case study is still justifiable in terms of its interorganisational relations approach: it provides an opportunity to apply an IOR framework to a policy domain that has been hitherto neglected by this field of research.

The second reason for undertaking a comparative study, that it would foster policy learning (Pearce 1993), still applies to the study in its current status. At the time of undertaking this research, the researcher anticipated that he would eventually assume an academic position, and would therefore be in the situation of being able to continue with the comparative aspect of the research. And indeed, this is the case with the author currently being the recipient of a research grant to repeat the Canadian case study in New Zealand.²⁵ To reiterate, while New Zealand does not have a federal system, there is structural parity regarding the management of national parks and tourism.

4.1.7 Selection of the study organisations

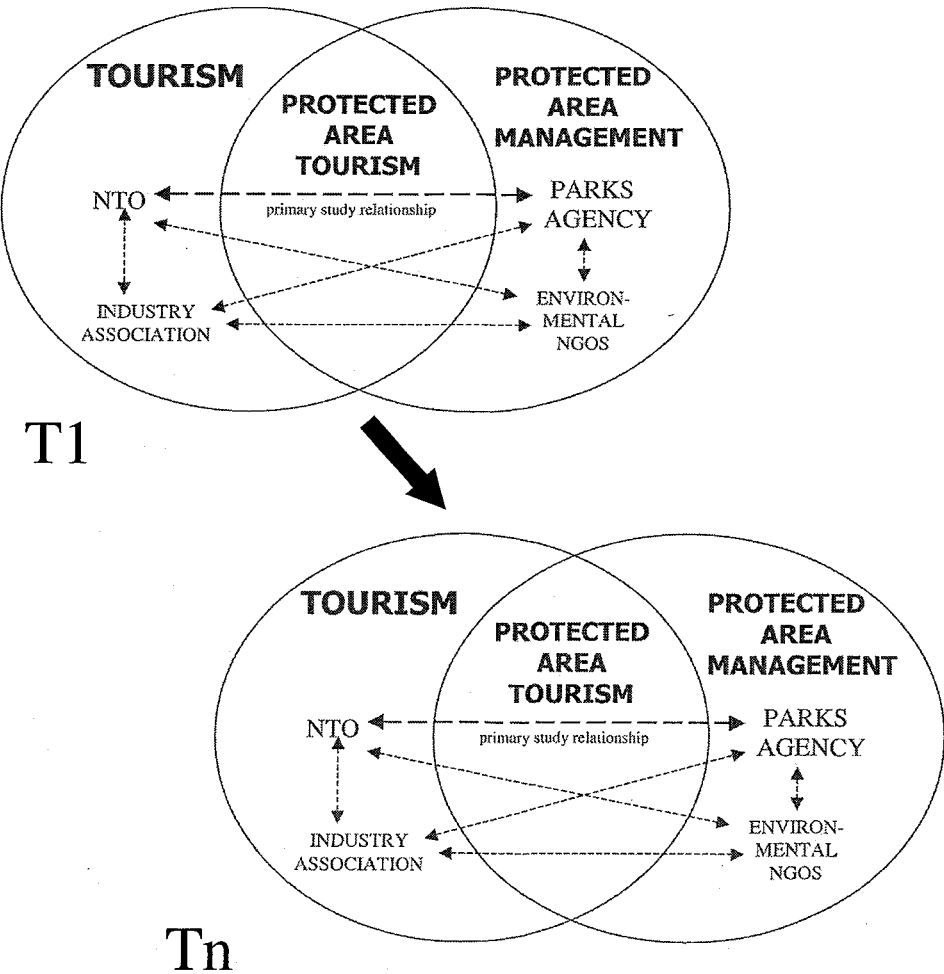
Parks Canada and the Canadian Tourism Commission were selected as initial candidates for the study as initial scoping revealed that they have a history of interaction within the protected area – tourism domain (Jenkins 1996). This suited one of the study's objectives, that is to examine the historic development of interorganisational relations between a protected area management agency and a tourism organisation.

²⁵ Author received a University of Otago School of Business Research Grant in 2001 for this purpose.

An initial review of literature also revealed that interest groups play an important role within the protected area – tourism domain (e.g. Jamal 1999). On a broad level, across many national jurisdictions, non-governmental organisations are perceived to have an important function in the implementation of sustainable tourism development (e.g. Inskeep 1991; Mowforth and Munt 1998; Jamal 1999). Canada is no exception, and in particular, environmental groups and tourism lobby groups are significant protected area – tourism domain members. For example, Dearden and Berg (1993:194) describe the influence of environmental groups on the development of Canadian national park policy, in their model of “administrative penetration”. And in specific contested domains (e.g. certain Canadian national parks or sites within parks), environmental groups have been observed to play a strong role in influencing tourism development (Jamal 1999).

Figure 4.1 represents the study organisations (implicitly including their range of incarnations, historically) and the actual or potential links between them at any point of time, T1 to Tn. It should be noted, however, that the inherently static nature of this depiction does not attempt to address the issue-based ebb and flow of relationships over time.

FIGURE 4.1. The study organisations and potential relationships



The key dyadic relationship depicted in Figure 4.1 is that between the NTO and the parks agency – who could be considered ‘core actors’ (Knoke 1990) in the policy domain. In terms of Knoke and Laumann’s (1982 in Knoke 1990:19) definition of a domain member (“all consequential organisations that have responsibility for directing, co-ordinating, or otherwise controlling the creation and distribution of domain values”), two categories of interest groups have been included in the study: the tourism industry association, and environmental NGOs. This produces five secondary dyadic relationships (as identified Fig 4.1) that will also be addressed in this study (the above figure also depicts how the study organisations have only “partial immersion” in the study domain: i.e. that all of the organisations have roles both within and outside of the domain of protected area tourism).

The two kinds of interest group are included in this study not only because of their identified policy role within protected area tourism, or because the role of NGOs is said to be under-researched (Sewell, Dearden and Dumbrell 1989), but partly in response to the ‘equilibrium bias’ of much IOR research (Whetten 1982). As noted above, IOR theory tends to adopt a functionalist approach where equilibrium is considered normative and desirable for effective functioning within a domain. For the sustainable tourism policy domain, this approach has been reinforced by a strong emphasis on co-ordination arising from researchers and writers in this field. One consequence of the above is that IOR research has tended to focus on organisations that are already incorporated into formal consensual relationships. This study considers interest groups because of their more dynamic or “fringe” role, and the range of approaches they typically adopt, which often includes or results in conflict within policy domains (Cigler and Loomis 1983).

With the above research requirements in mind, and given this study’s objective to consider the historic development of relationships, well established interest groups were identified. Only groups that had a history of relationships with the key study organisations were considered. The decision was made to include two ‘secondary’ study organisations – one tourism lobby group and one environmental non-governmental organisation, but upon closer examination of historic material, it became obvious that two environmental groups had historically played an important role in this domain: the Canadian Nature Federation and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (e.g CPAWS 1999; CNF 1999; BBVTF 1996; Dearden 1995; Dearden and Rollins 1993; Rollins 1993; McNamee 1993). Both organisations have a substantial membership (CPAWS 1999; CNF 1999) and maintain a high profile within the national parks-tourism debate (e.g. Deacon 1995; Turner 1995; Financial Times 1996; Pynn 1996; Vancouver Sun 1997a, b). Consequently, both organisations were included in the study, along with the

Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC). TIAC is an industry funded tourism lobby group that is the main collective voice for the tourism industry at the federal level of government. TIAC has a long history within the national park-tourism domain and has been a vocal supporter of enhanced tourism opportunities within national parks (e.g. DIAND 1970; Clarke 1980; TIAC 1997c). They have achieved a high political profile within the domain (CTC 1998) and have also been active in developing policy guidelines for sustainable tourism within the industry (TIAC and NRTEE 1992).

4.1.8 Limitations to the study domain

It is acknowledged that this study limits the focus with respect to members. It is recognised that boundaries of organisational fields are hard to define (Lomi and Grandi 1997; Denscombe 2000). The potential pool of stakeholders in this domain is in fact infinite – to a certain extent attributable to the complex or partially industrialised nature of the tourism sector (Leiper 1990), plus the fact that the contested resource is under public ownership. However, some boundedness has been necessary in terms of administrative convenience. Although the national park tourism domain extends further than these five organisations, for example, to include indigenous peoples' groups, other federal government departments, provincial governments, municipalities, private companies in the tourism sector, and other user interests, resource constraints in this study preclude a detailed analysis of all stakeholders. However, the influence of these other stakeholders will, when necessary, be referred to in the analysis of this domain.

The emphasis of this study on federal organisations rather than provincial/territorial organisations deserves special attention. As outlined in Chapter One, the focus of this study is on tourism in national parks. The primary agencies in this respect are the national parks agency and the national tourism organisation (NTO). National parks in Canada are managed by a federal agency with little involvement of provincial or territorial governments, apart from in recent times, their role in transferring control of Crown land to the federal government for the purposes of establishing national parks (Eagles 1993).^{26 27} However, all other matters, such as roads that lie within parks, and approval of developments within parks, are the responsibility of the federal parks agency.

²⁶ Also, in Banff National Park, the township of Banff is a separate municipality that falls within the auspices of the province of Alberta.

²⁷ There is also (as discussed in 7.3.1) a substantial network of provincial/territorial-managed protected areas in Canada. The presence of, and promotion of these areas by provinces/territories, very likely impacts upon visitor patterns within national parks.

Nevertheless, despite little input of the provinces and territories in terms of statutory responsibilities for national park management, they are often a strong advocate for increased tourism opportunities within existing national parks. This desire to use national park tourism for regional economic development (as discussed in Chapter Six) is expressed through direct political levels and also through the national park statutory management processes: so in this respect they are no more, or no less than any other stakeholder.

The provinces also have their own tourism promotional organisations (Jenkins 1995) that have been critical to the promotion of the tourism attractions (including national parks) within their boundaries. However, with the adoption of a more co-operative approach to the tourist promotion of Canada, and especially since the formation of the Canadian Tourism Commission, increasingly, promotion of national parks as tourist drawcards (and especially for international visitors) has become a centralised responsibility, with all levels of government contributing funds towards federally supported NTO's programmes. While promotion may be more focussed upon one central organisation, however, the provincial and territorial governments are strongly represented within the NTO's decision-making structures. The ramification of that for this study is that although the policy domain for this study does not explicitly include provincial or territorial government tourism advocacy agencies, they are implicitly included through their formal representation on the NTO's various boards and committees.

So, although it could be argued that the focus on the federal level of government rather than the provincial/territorial may undermine the potential to undertake future comparative studies in similar federal systems of government such as Australia (Jenkins 1995) or the United States, it still permits comparative studies with New Zealand (which as discussed above has no provincial counterparts) – and where New Zealand as a nation has typically been on the periphery of research in this area. By maintaining a federal focus to this study, this action mitigates against the future inability to undertake a comparative study with New Zealand, and where this locale to date has not been researched as has Australia and the United States.

4.1.9 The organisations in this study

The primary organisations under study include Parks Canada, which at the time of study was a conventional federal agency within the Department of Canadian Heritage. Recently Parks Canada has become a “Special Operating Agency” reporting to the Minister of Canadian Heritage.²⁸ The other primary study organisation is the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC), the national tourism marketing agency of Canada. The CTC operates from within Industry Science and Technology Canada, but could probably be best described as a “structural heretic”

²⁸ Chapter Eight discusses the format and significance of Special Operating Agencies within the Canadian federal government.

(Brooks 1989:145) as it does not fit the model of the conventional federal department. The CTC at the time of study was a “Special Operating Agency”, and because of its funding base, 50% of which comes from the tourism industry, the CTC could be said to be more independent of cabinet control than other federal departments. Yet as an agent of the crown, the CTC still reports to the appropriate Minister, making the federal government ultimately responsible for the organisation’s actions. A recent amendment to the structure of the CTC making it into a Crown corporation will increase its independence (Industry Canada 1999).

This study also considers two different types of interest groups, and their relations with each other, and with the above federal organisations. Tourism development interests are represented in this study by the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC), and environmental interests are represented by the environmental groups, the Canadian Nature Federation (CNF) and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS). In terms of the study, these latter three organisations may be considered to be secondary foci. Detailed descriptions of all of the above organisations, and of the history of their development are provided in Chapters Eight, Nine and Twelve.

4.1.10 Data Collection

As Yin (1991) outlines above, case studies typically lend themselves towards multiple data sources. They employ several methods, primarily to avoid or prevent errors and distortions (Sarantakos 1998). Data collection takes place in the natural environment of the research unit, and data collection methods may be many and diverse. The most common methods involve the use of: open interviews, narrative interviews, observation, document analysis, and archival data (Sarantakos 1998).

For this case study, the aim was to utilise a multiple data collection approach. As the study adopts an historic approach and relies heavily upon the historic contextualisation of relationships, one essential data source is historic material (primary and secondary) pertaining to the study organisations and their relationships (refer 4.1.6). In order to describe and analyse contemporary relationships within the domain, the study utilises multiple data sources – interviews and documentation.

Interviews were selected as a valid data collection method on the basis of the kind of detailed information that they could potentially supply (as opposed to a quantitative approach such as a survey). Denscombe (2000) sets out a number of criteria for the selection of interviews as an appropriate method, including their suitability in the examination of emotions and experiences, and in the handling of sensitive information. In this study, interviews were selected because of the need for the research to investigate emotions, experiences and feelings

(as well as straight forward factual matters), as these have been identified as critical factors in interorganisational relationships (e.g. Gray 1985; Westley and Vredenburg 1991). This aspect comprises the subjective dimension through which policy is filtered. The nature of emotions, experiences and feelings is such that they need to be “explored rather than simply reported” (Denscombe 2000:111). Also, this research was seen to potentially cover issues that might be considered sensitive or personal: interviews are appropriate in such situations (Denscombe 2000). In such situations, informants may be more willing to reveal such information with a sensitive interviewer, or indeed, may even require the coaxing of an interviewer to reveal such information. Furthermore, interviews are justified when there is value in contact with key players in the domain, who can give privileged information. Denscombe (2000:111) notes that the depth of information provided by interviews can produce “best value for money” if the informants are willing and able to give information that others could not, and one might add, that would not typically appear in official documentation.

4.1.11 Accessing the study organisation and selection of interviewees

Regarding the suitability of the interview as a data collection method, however, it is noted that the decision to use interviews also needs to take account of their feasibility, for example, in terms of such factors as resourcing, and also gaining access to the prospective interviewees (Denscombe 2000). For this study, all organisations were initially contacted by letter, explaining the objectives of the study, the methodology, and potential benefits of participation. All organisations accepted the invitation to participate in the study.

The writer explained to contact persons in each organisation that he sought to interview employees currently involved (at the national level) in interactions with the other study organisations. Parks Canada and the Canadian Tourism Commission both provided lists of potential interviewees, and made clear that these personnel were the only ones for which permission to interview would be granted. Attempts to interview top-level staff at Parks Canada such as the Assistant Deputy Minister Parks were unsuccessful. Similarly, attempts to interview Canadian Tourism Commission Board members were also unsuccessful – the writer was told that they were simply too busy and that it would not be appropriate to interview them. However the Chairman of the CTC was interviewed by telephone.

In practice, despite pre-arranging face-to-face interviews with these key staff members, at the time the interviews were undertaken, some key staff members were not available. On occasion, other staff members with experience of the relationships were made available. When face-to-face interviews were not possible because of resource constraints, interviews were conducted by telephone (five). The environmental groups had a limited number of staff available for interview, and these were conducted face-to-face and by telephone.

While the study may perhaps be criticised for the relatively low number of interviews (twenty-three) conducted, a number of factors should be considered. First, that the number of informants was restricted by the study organisations themselves. Secondly, it should be remembered that this study required a purposive sample (Maykut and Morehouse 1994) – that is, to qualify for inclusion, there had to exist a perception in the selectors (in this case, the researcher *and* ‘gatekeepers’ within the study organisations) that individuals would have some special contribution to make, because they have some unique insight or because of the position they hold (Denscombe 2000). With this in mind, there is a limited pool of potential informants within each organisation, who are actually at the day-to-day interface with the other study organisations. This especially applies to the interest groups that operate on a small number of staff, of which only one or two in practice were involved in relationships with the other study organisations.

In order to broaden the potential database, in addition to those informants actually within the organisations, the sample was extended to include three Associates with experience as previous employees and consultants to both primary study organisations (these are identified as ‘Associate interview’ in the text). One associate was an environmental consultant who had been in previous employment with both primary study organisations; the second associate was a consultant who had experience in working with both organisations; and the third associate was a member of the tourism industry and a tourism lobby group. Furthermore, the views of academics active in research within this domain were also canvassed, albeit not through the interview process, but through a review of published literature – which effectively represents in published form, their positions within the Canadian national park - tourism debate.

The interview schedule was not enlarged to include a vast number of previous members of the study organisations, and in hindsight this is an acknowledged weakness. However, the views of a number of these individuals are represented in the published literature and archival material as revealed in the documentation analysis. Although this segment could have been expanded, it should also be stressed that the study did not *rely solely* upon interview data, but made extensive use of documentation analysis as outlined in 4.1.10. It should also be noted that attempts to locate and interview previous employees may have proven logistically difficult – given the size of Canada, the tendency for retirees to migrate (often to America) and the expense involved in undertaking this task. Furthermore, it is questionable to what extent further insights would have been revealed if more interviews were undertaken: as Maykut and Morehouse (1994) note, practically speaking the sampling concepts of saturation of information and diminishing returns have to be balanced with limitations of time, money and other factors that impinge upon the research task. They cite examples of research (Lincoln

and Guba 1985, and Douglas 1985; both in Maykut and Morehouse 1994) where adequate data has been gathered from between twelve and twenty-five participants.

4.1.12 The interview process

Interviews with twenty-three key informants were undertaken over the period of October-November 1997 (refer Appendix II for a full list of interviewees and for details on their interviews). The study adhered to the University of Otago *Policy on Ethical Practices in Research and Teaching Involving Human Participants* (University of Otago 1999) adopting the principle of informed consent (Snook 1999). At the start of the interview process, all informants were informed of the purpose of the study, and about how the data would be used. Furthermore, participation within the study was also based upon informants being given anonymity within the resultant thesis and in any publications arising from the thesis. All interview data were treated confidentially, with the interview tapes and transcribed interviews being kept in secure storage for the duration of the PhD study, and following completion of the study.

Interviews were semi-structured, and ranged in length from thirty minutes to two and a half hours. Note that the length of the interview (see Appendix I) does not necessarily provide a measure of its richness. Interviewees were provided with prior knowledge of the broad subject of the interview, and it should also be considered that all interviewees were ‘experts’ within their fields, so generally, relevant information was forthcoming without the need for extensive preliminaries. Thus, in practice, some of the shorter interviews provided extremely rich data. Interviews were taped where possible (18), and later transcribed. Interviews were taped to obtain the best possible record of the interviewee’s words (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). Notes were taken for all interviews. For those interviews where taping was not practicable, detailed notes were made and direct quotes taken *verbatim* where relevant. The absence of tape recording, in the opinion of the writer did not impact on the quality of the data collected. In some respects the absence of tape recording actually assisted in the process of data analysis as the first stage of “data reduction” (Sarantakos 1998:316) had been already completed during the interview and note-taking procedure. However, negative aspects of reliance upon notes (although in practice, the writer is unaware of this occurring) were that certain themes that may have seemed irrelevant during the interview may have been omitted from the notes or received less emphasis, thus hindering subsequent further analysis of these matters.

Semi-structured interviews were selected as an appropriate format. A number of writers (e.g. Maykut and Morehouse 1994; Janesick 2000; Denscombe 2000) point to the advantages of a semi-structured or unstructured interview format, in providing a greater depth of data than a fully structured interview. Under this format, the interviewer had a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered (see Appendix II for interview guideline). However,

with this format, the interviewer was flexible in terms of the order in which the topics were considered. In practice, this format also permitted the informant greater flexibility in developing ideas and speaking more widely on the issues raised by the researcher.

All interviews except one were undertaken with informants individually. However, because of the restricted schedule of four informants, two CTC interviews (CTC interviews 3 & 4) and two Associate interviews (Associate interviews 1 & 2) were undertaken in what could be described as two separate focus groups (Janesick 2000). In practice, this was useful in developing discussion and stimulating memories of certain past occasions that were relevant to the study, although ultimately, in a protracted one-on-one interview situation, it is likely that this data would have been revealed eventually.

Due to the geographical inaccessibility of some informants (e.g. some informants were in America during the interview period, while others were located in Atlantic Canada, some 7,000 kilometres away from the researcher's base in Vancouver), telephone interviews were conducted with five informants. On four occasions, the interviews proved to be 'successful' and the interviewees very forthcoming with information. Although the telephone is an acknowledged medium of data collection (Sarantakos 1998) there were obvious differences between the telephone and face-to-face interview approaches with respect to such issues as personal identity and self-presentation (Denscombe 2000). Despite these variations, there were generally no discernible differences in the quality of the data gathered from the two approaches. On one occasion, however, with a CTC 'elite', the interviewer had difficulty establishing his credentials and establishing a 'presence' in the interview – which may have impacted upon the quality of the data produced from that interview. This was attributed partly to the interviewee's busy schedule and limited time available for the interview, and also to the inherent problems associated with interviewing 'elites'.

The writer found that although elites within the CTC and Parks Canada should have been in a position to provide important insights into aspects of the organisation's relationships, in practice, they were generally more hesitant to make firm statements in this area, than were other members of these organisations. On one occasion, when the interviewer probed an elite about past conflict, and potential areas of future conflict, these matters were, in the interviewer's opinion, and based upon examination of documentary evidence and from other informants, not addressed openly (see 4.2.4 for a further discussion of this and the issue of 'reciprocity'). The most likely reason for this is an underlying fear (despite assurances of anonymity and confidentiality) that these comments would be either revealed to other informants by the interviewer, or traced to their origin, with negative repercussions for the elite, and indeed for the organisations they represent. In other words, these elites considered

that they had much more at stake than other informants within these organisations. In contrast, elites within the three interest groups in the study were very forthcoming about the conflict aspects of their relationships. This is attributable to a much more casual workplace hierarchy, and the absence of a formal policy regarding release of official information of a sensitive nature such as the Public Service Employment Act (1985) that governs public servants in Canada (Department of Justice 2001).

Linked with this issue is that of defining and discerning the difference in the interview data between individual opinion and agency viewpoints. As outlined above, the number of individuals involved at the interface with other organisations is very low within the study domain. For the interest groups, often only one or two individuals are charged with this responsibility (at the federal level). In this scenario, the personal opinion of the informant is often analogous to that of the organisation – as often these elites or key individuals are in positions where they either strongly influence policy or even have sole responsibility for formulating policy for the organisations they represent.

Upon reflection, there were perceived advantages for the interview process and for the study in the interviewer being a foreigner. Participants in the study were aware that this study was being undertaken for the purpose of completing a PhD, and that the interviewer would complete this process in a distant location (New Zealand). The writer feels that this personal position, with its associations of independence and distance, aided the gathering of relevant data; data to which a resident Canadian researcher may or may not have been privy.

In practice, the interview sessions proved to be quite demanding upon the interviewer. This was particularly the case for those interviews conducted on the 30 November 1997 – when 6 interviewees were interviewed (note, however, that two of these informants were interviewed together – due to timing constraints). Although this was not an ideal situation, the writer does not believe that that the intense interview schedule impacted negatively upon the quality of the data gathered. Between each interview, the interviewer had a period of time to permit adequate reflection upon the recently collected data, and thus to refine and supplement the interview schedule for the next informant. Ultimately, the benefits of immediacy to the interview process were seen to enhance the quality of the information gathered.

Because the interviewees were mainly located in Ottawa, at some considerable distance from the writer's home location of Vancouver, there were logistical and financial problems of re-accessing interviewees for follow-up interviews. Two follow-up interviews were scheduled within the week of interviewing and did take place. However, a number of issues arose from some interviews that required following up. In many instances, information gaps could be

addressed through reference to primary, archival or secondary, published material, or through cross checking with other transcribed interviews. With some interviewees, further correspondence was entered into via E-mail, in order to address certain issues raised in initial interviews. This means of 'extending' the interview process proved valuable, in expanding the primary database, but also, on occasion, in providing access to valuable secondary data sources.

4.1.13 Analysis of interview data

Analysis of interview data was undertaken qualitatively along the lines of the five-stage process identified in Sarantakos (1998). The first step in this process was transcription from the original form (audiotape) onto paper. When interviews were recorded in abbreviated note form (when they were unable to be tape-recorded because they were telephone interviews or they took place in locations acoustically unsuitable for recording), these notes were transcribed into a more complete version as soon as possible after the interview. During the second phase, some editing of the data took place, with any obviously irrelevant material being omitted from the transcripts, along with typographic errors being edited, and any obvious contradictions highlighted.

The third phase of analysis involved the coding of the transcripts: individual units (sentences/paragraphs or larger) within the transcripts were assigned numerical codes that related to an open-ended series of themes that was progressively developed throughout the data collection and analysis phases. The next phase involved combining individual units with the same codes and checking for trends and contradictions in the data. The final phase involved verification, or checking the validity of interpretations, by going through the transcripts (and notes) again. This served to reinforce data on identifiable trends or served to allow the researcher to modify hypotheses arrived at previously.

Direct quotes from participants are included in this study, providing a multi-vocal text. This offers the reader an opportunity to engage with the data and narrations of participants. Such an approach helps to embody the voices of managers, employees, interest group members and associates in the interorganisational relationships and processes being reviewed (Jamal and Getz 2000).

4.1.14 Archival and primary source data

Data relating to the history of the study organisations and their relationships was accessed through conventional library sources, through the Parks Canada library and the Canadian Tourism Commission library. Further valuable material was made available from the records

of the Department of Canadian Heritage Heritage Tourism Secretariat, and from interviewees in all organisations. Further historic records were accessed at the Canadian National Archive. It is important to note that some periods of the history of the relationship are either poorly documented or records were not available to public scrutiny. This has resulted in an historic analysis that may be criticised for its emphasis on the very early period and the recent past, from about 1960 onwards. In attempt to redress this, some weight has been placed on secondary source material, particularly the published history of aspects of Canada's parks agency.

Data gathered from the above sources was analysed and interpreted according to the system of data reduction, data organisation and interpretation identified by Sarantakos (1998). In practice this involved annotating individual sources of information onto a database (Reference Manager). Key words were assigned to each reference, related to an open-ended grouping of themes that had progressively been identified from the early stages of the exercise. For archival data, and contemporary data sourced from the study organisations that consisted of letters, memos, and file notes, this material was either copied and keywords assigned relating to the above themes, or notes were taken (when this material was unable to be copied) and key words assigned to the notes. After data-collection, data was organised and assembled around the above keywords and themes. Data interpretation involved identifying patterns and regularities and irregularities within the above assemblage, and discovering trends and developing explanations for these patterns. This interpretation stage of the research (Sarantakos 1998) was iterative, in that during this stage, areas where more data collection was required were identified, and subsequent data collection took place.

Overall, the supplementary material either accessed by the writer or provided by interviewees provided valuable secondary and tertiary means of validating the constructs of the interorganisational relationships under consideration – an important issue that will be discussed below. However, the writer acknowledges the inherent limitations in reliance upon documentary research (see Sarantakos (1998) for a discussion on these limitations). For example, some of the documentation relating to aspects of relationships was inaccessible to the researcher, including some current files of Parks Canada and the CTC – which are legally withheld from researchers until they enter a publicly accessible archive. While the author was privy to some of this file material, a portion was purposely withheld. And while Parks Canada made an amount of current file information available it was not always possible to locate and cross check this information with that in the other organisations.

4.1.15 Informal information gathering

In addition to the above formal information gathering processes of interview and documentation analysis, a substantial amount of informal information gathering was

undertaken by the researcher on his various recreational visits to a number of national parks throughout Canada. Over the 18-month period spent in Canada, the researcher visited 9 national parks. This informal aspect of information gathering consisted of talking informally with parks agency staff, participating in parks activities and programmes, and simply observing the nature of tourism within those parks.

4.2 Research design issues

Whetten (1982) notes that there is considerable diversity in how the attributes of IORs are measured, and is critical of this lack of consistency in approach. The main basis for difference in research design is the objective-versus-subjective approaches to measurement. For example, the intensity of an IOR may be measured as the number of information sharing meetings held between the organisations, or may be assessed by staff by using a Likert-type scale (Whetten 1982:109).

4.2.1 How do we characterise interorganisational relationships?

IORs may be characterised in a number of ways: first, the general nature of the IOR may be described; secondly, the types of linkages may be identified; and thirdly, the characteristics of these linkages described.

Mulford and Rogers (1982:18) describe the nature of coordination strategies in terms of seven dimensions:

1. Focus (agency, clients or interagency system).
2. Actors involved (who is involved in the coordination activity).
3. Degree of formalisation (emphasis on rules).
4. Resource commitments (type and amount committed).
5. Focus of power.
6. Focus of control.
7. Goals (agency goals or collective goals).

Further to this, they identify the specific linkages to promote coordination, dividing these into *administrative linkages* (fiscal, personnel practices, planning and programming, and administrative support services) and *direct service linkages* (at operational level). These linkage mechanisms serve to coordinate different elements (e.g. securing resources and funding, or developing programmes) at the appropriate organisational level. Mulford and Rogers (1982) note that coordination at one level or of one element does not imply that coordination of other elements has occurred, will occur or is even required. The linkages available vary as to cost, time to develop, and effect. Linkages that involve the organisation's autonomy are more difficult to establish, and research indicates that different linkages are used for different types of coordination strategy (Mulford and Rogers 1982). Of specific interest to

this study are planning and programming linkages which include the joint development of policies, joint planning, joint programming, information sharing and joint evaluation (Mulford and Rogers 1982). At the policy level, co-ordination relies on formal methods of communication, that is regularly scheduled committees, written policies, and formal rules. Alter and Hage (1993) describe a typology of co-ordination methods that is applicable to the study of policy co-ordination. Three categories are identified: *Impersonal methods* (rules/procedures mandated by law or legally binding, written interagency agreements, protocols or plans, unwritten (but firmly agreed to) interagency agreements, protocols and plans); *Personal methods* (administrator or staff person acts as co-ordinator, or informal communication between administrators and staff); *Group methods* (standing interagency committees which meet routinely to plan, co-ordinate, *ad hoc* interagency committee meetings held as needed) (see also Jennings (1994) for a comprehensive list of co-ordination techniques).

In addition to the identification of linkages, it is useful for IOR studies to further describe the attributes of these linkages. Whetten (1982:108) identifies ten dimensions of dyadic (between two organisations) linkages:

1. *Multiplexity* - the number of different types of linkages.
2. *Stability* - the stability of the linkages over time.
3. *Standardisation* - the fixedness of the units and terms of exchange.
4. *Formalisation* - the extent to which a relationship is formally agreed upon.
5. *Intensity* - the extent of the organisation's resources committed to the relationship, in terms of the amount and frequency of resources exchanged.
6. *Reciprocity* - the extent of symmetry/mutuality in the relationship.
7. *Redundancy* - the extent to which the purposes of a given linkage is unique or redundant in relation to other linkages with the same and other organisations.
8. *Importance* - the extent to which staff members perceive that linkage is crucial.
9. *Co-operation* - the extent to which staff perceive that other organisation's staff have been helpful in facilitating the exchange of resources.
10. *Co-ordination* - the extent to which organisations have integrated their activities with one another.

The above discussion of means of characterising IORs impresses upon researchers the complexity of studying relationships – but it also reveals a reassuring raft of categories and criteria that will usefully be applied in this study to help order and objectify, and generally aid analysis of what is ultimately a highly subjective phenomenon.

However, added to the difficulties of describing relationships, Whetten (1982) notes that further certain methodological problems arise when attempting to measure the above variables. The most significant of these are the measurement of the above dimensions of linkages, and reciprocity issues or disparity between organisations.

4.2.2 The issue of reciprocity

Many IOR researchers have faced difficulties reconciling disagreements between organisations regarding the reciprocity of the relationship (Whetten 1982). Whetten notes that these differences may have a number of causes. First, they may be due to the inherent problems involved in identifying the appropriate informants, whereby the informant in an organisation may not have first hand knowledge about the particular relationship and their responses are inaccurate (Whetten and Sz wajkowski 1978 in Whetten 1982:110). Another cause may be that the difference in response is a function of the importance of the relationship for each informant because of differences in organisation size, importance of the resources received, or the redundancy of the linkage. This problem of lack of agreement between interacting organisations is exacerbated when the measure incorporates a subjective judgement of the relationship.

Whetten (1982) outlines a methodological approach to help eliminate reciprocity discrepancies that may arise from sampling errors. The principle objective is to select the most informed respondent, as Whetten notes, “IOR studies need to deliberately sample respondents based on their firsthand information” (Whetten 1982:116). In addition, to ensure the reliability of IOR characteristics, Whetten suggests using multiple measures of a construct, from a variety of sources (e.g. survey items, office records, publications, personal observations). The results are then compared to ascertain the most valid form of measurement for each construct.

In IOR studies in general, a range of approaches have been employed to assess the extent of the relationships, including participant observation at meetings, personal and telephone interviews, analysis of reports and other secondary data, and commonly, questionnaires. For IOR studies undertaken within the tourism field, a similar range of approaches has been used. For example, Selin and Beason (1991) utilised an eleven-item survey to assess joint activities, resource exchange and other aspects of relationships. In Selin and Myers (1995) study, a combination of interviews, secondary data sources, reports, meetings minutes, plus a questionnaire was employed. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) conducted interviews with participants in a collaborative process, and supported this with material from local reports and documents or participating organisations. In some studies, participant observation in meetings has also been utilised (e.g. Jamal and Getz 2000). In summary, the methodology is typically primarily interview or questionnaire centred (or both) with supporting data obtained from organisational records and reports (e.g. Timothy 2000; Jamal and Getz 2000; Long 2000). This methodology thus potentially provides a dual or triangulated approach that addresses issues of reciprocity.

4.2.3 Methodological considerations - how reciprocity errors were minimised in this study

To address the research design issues outlined above, particularly reciprocity discrepancies, multiple measures of the relationships were made through accessing a variety of sources i.e. interviewing key informants for firsthand information; historical records; secondary source analyses of history; and interviews of 'independent' parties.

However, despite the above precautions, as the research progressed, and particularly with the qualitative interview component of the study, contradictory material emerged. These contradictions related mainly to participants' descriptions of the current and historic relationship between the parks agency and the NTO. Obviously with a qualitative approach, various personal interpretations will be applied to the way that organisations relate to one another. By far the majority of interview material correlated well with the written record of the relationship, and was supported by interviews held with associates of the study organisations. However, one or two informants appeared to downplay the extent of the conflict that existed between the two organisations and the potential for such conflict to re-emerge. These informants were in key positions in both organisations, in terms of the current relationship.

The motivation for these particular participants to neglect this aspect of the relationship, may have been a fear that any negative comments would taint the future relationship between the organisations. Thus, at times, armed with a prior knowledge of the conflictual aspects of the relationship, the writer felt that he was the subject of a public-relations exercise in presenting only the positive side of the relationship. As Long (2000) notes, there are limitations associated with the use of qualitative interviews. The extent to which the views expressed reflect "reality" in circumstances where political sensitivities may be involved and comments are "on the record" is open to question (Long 2000:189). These discrepancies, when apparent, have been noted in the text where appropriate.

A further problem relates to the volatile nature of relationships within the domain. Following the completion of the fieldwork component of the research, the writer was to find evidence from subsequently released policy material and news reports, that the context for relationships and the relationships themselves had changed substantially. Although this was in a way frustrating, it is in itself a significant research finding, in that it does point to the wholly fluid environment in which relationships form and change, in terms of their importance, intensity, and content. As Long (2000) notes, the findings of a study such as this relate to a particular moment in time and will be overtaken by events in a dynamic environment. Significant changes that have occurred since the fieldwork have been documented and reported in this

study. However, it is crucial to note that the relationships described in this study, refer to relationships prior to and during the time of this study i.e. November 1997.

In summary, several methodological challenges impact upon this study. Some of these challenges are associated with the case study method and qualitative approach adopted. However, as noted, certain strategies have been adopted to help improve the quality of the data and to mitigate the spatial and temporal limitations of this case study. The emphasis in this study on the historic development of relations among the selected organisations, as well as addressing part of the above problem, goes some way towards redressing the decontextualised nature of much IOR research: that is, historically situating the study allows a greater understanding of how and why contemporary relationships do or don't work. Furthermore, interorganisational relations research poses particular problems in terms of measuring relationships and because of potential reciprocity errors. However, as outlined above, this research adopts strategies to minimise these potential problems, principally through the use of multiple measures of relationship constructs. Documentary evidence concerning relationships helps address and reveal any bias imposed by personal and political agendas that may otherwise have been concealed by the use of interview material alone.

4.3 The structure of this thesis

The multi-level framework adopted for this study, and described in Chapter Three is also reflected in the structure of this thesis – most notably with its separate consideration of the broader contextual factors (Chapters Five, Six and Seven), the organisations and their history (Chapters Eight, Nine and Twelve), their historic documented relationships (Chapters Ten and Twelve), and of participants' contemporary accounts of relationships (Chapters Eleven and Thirteen). Thus each chapter represents either a different level of analysis or has been informed by a different “voice” – whether that voice be from individual contemporary participants in the study, or the institutional voice, or the historic voice of those from previous relationships, as revealed through an analysis of historic documents.

Whilst some readers may find it disconcerting that what could be considered as the primary research findings in the traditional sense (the interview material) are not presented until the latter part of the thesis, the thesis is structured in this way because it is necessary to artificially separate out the various shaping factors of relationships – (e.g. history of protected area tourism, history of parks policy, development of tourism policy, sustainable development context, historical context for IOR, government relations, etc). This disconnection is necessary not only because of the share volume of significant material, but also in order to ascertain the temporal placing of events, practices, responses, and the nature of relations over time. It is necessary to canvas the contextual material in this way as it provides the basis for

understanding the contemporary (interview) material and is central to providing an historically informed analysis. Furthermore, the following five chapters, while not informed by interview data, are indeed informed by analysis of archival material and relevant organisational documents, much of which has not entered the public domain, is presented with an organisational 'voice' and for which previous analysis has not been undertaken. And although a portion of secondary data is presented, the analysis of the bulk of material for these chapters is unique, and as such, much of this material is considered to be 'primary data'.

Furthermore, the disconnection between the documentary and contemporary accounts of relationships within the structure of this thesis may be justified in terms of methodology. The validity errors (Whetten 1982) encountered in IOR research (see 4.2.2) mean that it is not acceptable to just rely on participants telling us about the past, because what they have to tell will be constricted by the contemporary – it will be the contemporary manipulation – and the researcher will have no idea where it has come from, when and why a particular instance is considered significant in this context. Just as the researcher is limited by "information uncaptured" (Hall and Jenkins 1995a:95), so to is the informant within the research. What is needed first is the bigger picture (provided by the documentary evidence of the relationship) in order to isolate and identify historical continuities and discontinuities and to explain why contemporary relationships are interpreted as they are.

In addition, the artificial separation within this structure gives the reader the opportunity to encounter the data as the researcher did (albeit after some culling and editing) and to follow the construction of this material, argument, and latter analysis in an explicit way – it makes it more readily accessible to critical evaluation and or counter argument and will hopefully encourage dialogue with the reader. Following on from the initial disconnexion, the synthesis relies on the intermeshing of the historical with the contemporary and multileveled documentation that precedes it.

Chapter 5: Sustainable development in Canada

5.1 Canada and sustainable development

Canada has an enviable reputation among nations in environmental planning and protection (Paehlke 2000). Institutional arrangements for protection of the environment were made as far back as 1885, with the creation of Canada's first national park. A further significant early step came in 1909, when the Commission on Conservation was established (Sadler 1996).²⁹ More recently, Canada has set an example for other nations, for example by being the first nation to ratify the Vienna Convention for the protection of the ozone layer (in 1986), and again with its active role in the WCED and UNCED. Also, a number of Canadians have held central positions in environmental protection on the world stage (e.g. Maurice Strong chaired both the Stockholm and Rio UNCED conferences; Tim MacNeill was a principal figure in the WCED; and Elizabeth Dowdeswell is head of the UNEP (Paehlke 2000)). Indeed, some commentators believe that contemporary Canada could be seen as a role model in terms of its contributions to global sustainable development (Dale and Robinson 1996).

However, reputations do not always provide an accurate measure of achievement. Indeed, it is possible to question Canada's current commitment to sustainable development (Taylor 1994; Paehlke 2000). This chapter will provide the background context to the sustainable tourism debate in national parks, and is important as sustainability not only provides the topic of debate for the domain but as a paradigm, is a potentially important macro-scale contextual factor, impacting upon relationships across the domain. The chapter begins by examining the emergence of sustainability as a paradigm for natural resource management in Canada. An examination of the role of the state in developing an institutional framework for the operationalisation of sustainable development is provided, and the federal government's commitment to sustainable resource management critically examined. This discussion is significant as the federal government is 'responsible' for the two key study organisations, and is pivotal in providing an avenue for the incorporation of the non-governmental study organisations into the sustainable development policy process. The arrangements for sustainable tourism development, particularly as they relate to protected natural areas such as national parks are then considered, and an analysis undertaken of the study organisations' roles and performance in this area.

5.1.1 History of sustainable development as a concept in Canada

The path to sustainable development (in its contemporary interpretation) in Canada, has its foundations in the establishment of the Department of the Environment (Environment Canada)

in 1971. Environment Canada is the federal organisation responsible for administering legislation related to the environment as well as providing assistance to other departments and agencies on environmental matters. A number of significant steps followed the establishment of Environment Canada before the goals of sustainable development were adopted explicitly, nationally and internationally. These steps include the release in 1972 of a substantial report entitled “Conservation in Canada”, and the introduction of the Environmental Assessment and Review Process in 1973 (Environment Canada 1972; Environment Canada 1999).

The 1980s saw a number of further policy initiatives, including the development of many federal policies related to natural resources. One of the more notable of these was the Federal Review of the World Conservation Strategy (Projet de société 1995). National policies or strategies were prepared for a number of sectors, over the period from 1979 to 1985. However, a 1986 report on conservation achievements indicated that further work was necessary in this area, asserting that integrated cross-sectoral policy development was still “the greatest challenge” to the federal government (Projet de société 1995:4).

Sustainability initiatives in Canada initially arose from the establishment in 1986 of the National Task Force on the Environment and the Economy. This in turn led to the establishment of the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) and the Round Tables on the Environment and the Economy (Environment Canada 1999).³⁰ The National Task Force adopted sustainable development to be “development that ensures that the utilisation of resources and the environment today does not damage prospects for future generations” (Canadian Environmental Advisory Council 1992:4).³¹

The passing of the Canadian Environmental Protection legislation in 1988 was a significant achievement, providing in essence some legislative framework in support of sustainable development policy initiatives (Environment Canada 1999). Environmental reporting is another policy tool that has played an increasingly important role in Canada: the Office of the Auditor General has placed an emphasis on environmental issues since the early 1980s. A key output from Environment Canada has been the State of the Environment reports that are produced every five years.

Reflecting the influence of the National Task Force on the Environment and Economy, initially, sustainability moves were framed within the terminology of the environment-

²⁹ The Commission was disestablished in 1921 (Projet de société 1995).

³⁰ The IISD is a non-governmental research and policy advice organisation with its Head Office in Canada. It was established in 1990 with a mission to promote sustainable development in decision making internationally and within Canada.

economy relationship. Environment Canada produced policy documents on issues such as “making the economy and environment partnership work” (Canadian Parks Service 1988). However, the language used by the Department changed after the release of the Brundtland Report in 1987, and it is here that sustainable development was adopted as a key concept, and became the overt goal of the federal government.

5.1.2 After Brundtland – Institutional responses to sustainable development

In Canada the key participants in policy development and implementation for sustainability are the federal, and the provincial/territorial governments along with intergovernmental and multisectoral institutions such as the Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment (CCME), the National Roundtable of the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE) and the *Projet de Societe* (Environment Canada 1999).³²

The Brundtland Report prompted the formation of the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE) (Doering 1993). NRTEE was established in 1988 as an independent agency mandated by Parliament, and reports directly to the Prime Minister. The Roundtable acts as a catalyst in promoting the principles and practices of sustainable development. Its members are representative of a range sectors, being appointed by the federal government. Roundtables have also been established in provinces and territories and locally. The function of the roundtables is to build consensus among representatives of important sectors and groups, on the meaning and operationalisation of sustainable development.

Another institution contributing towards the implementation of sustainable development in Canada was the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, which was appointed by the Minister for the Environment. The Council was responsible for preparing the Protected Areas Vision for Canada (1991) which built upon previous initiatives including the Task Force on Northern Conservation (1984), the Minister for the Environment’s Task Force on Northern Conservation (1987), and the Endangered Spaces Campaign (1989). The Vision addresses various aspects of protected areas management including partnerships, integrated planning, and tourism (Parks Canada 1997c). The Advisory Council was recently disestablished.

A further significant organisation was the *Projet de Societe*. The *Projet* was formed in 1992, and is a multi stakeholder partnership aimed at maintaining the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development (UNCED) momentum and progress (*Projet de Societe*

³¹ Canada uses the Brundtland definition of sustainable development (Report of Canada to the United Nations Committee for Sustainable Development, Canadian Government 1994)

1995). The Projet has undertaken an assessment of Canada's progress towards achieving the objectives of Agenda 21, and also drafted a macro framework and participatory process for a National Sustainable Development Strategy (NSDS), in accordance with the recommendations from UNCED at Rio in 1992. Key elements of this framework are that each partner and each sector is encouraged to identify and take responsibility for its own contribution to sustainable development. Dialogue and co-operation among sectors are key elements, with a shared vision on key policy and institutional changes seen to be necessary (Sadler 1996: 51). While dialogue and co-operation among sectors was a vision, it has been observed (ironically) that there is little connection between the Projet de Societe and federal policy making or the Green Plan developments (Sadler 1996). The Projet continued to be active in this policy area until 1996 when it was disbanded.

5.1.3 The Green Plan

The next significant step by the federal government was the development of the "Green Plan". The Green Plan was launched in 1990, managed by Environment Canada with an investment of \$3 Billion. The Green Plan was inspired by the Brundtland Report, and outlined the federal government's policy framework and approach to sustainable development. The Green Plan provides goals, supporting principles and specific targets, and has the long term objective of Canada becoming the industrial world's most environmentally responsible country by the year 2000. The plan provided an additional source of funding for particular Green Plan targets, funding programmes over six years up until 1996-97. Although the Green Plan predates Agenda 21, the plan was reviewed and updated to include the UNCED commitments from 1992. The Green Plan required federal departments and agencies to review the environmental implications of existing statutes, policies and programmes (Sadler 1996).

The Green plan was to all intents and purposes terminated and replaced by "A Guide to Green Government" in 1995. This policy document presents a framework which guides and assists federal departments in their preparation of sustainable development strategies. Some of the components of the Green Plan were taken forward by other strategic processes, for example, the Code of Environmental Stewardship. This was introduced in 1992 and required departments and agencies to begin preparation of action plans under the code (Sadler 1996).

Other federal government initiatives include efforts to improve its environmental management practices through the Environmental Accountability Partnership (Auditor General 1995). Also, federal-provincial development agreements are now subject to a sustainable development review process, which helps identify resource values that may potentially be

³² The CCME is the major inter-governmental forum in Canada for discussion and joint action on environmental issues (Projet de Societe 1995)

affected by specific programmes. These agreements have been a major source of funding for provincial and territorial development. They were used extensively over the 1980s for tourism development projects across Canada. Tourism Canada note that new planning sub-agreements (Sustainable Development Sub-agreements in some Maritime Provinces) have adopted a broad environmental planning approach, which attempts to integrate the objectives of all sectors, including tourism (Tourism Canada 1992).

5.1.4 Auditor General Act amendments

More recent developments include the amendment to the Auditor General Act in 1995, which created the position of a Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development, in July 1996. This was an initiative of NRTEE in 1993 (NRTEE 1993). Although the Auditor General in Canada has a broad role which has involved reporting extensively on environmental issues, the NRTEE argued that that role was not specific enough. The Commissioner would be appointed by and report to the Auditor General, and their work would be reported in a new annual “green” report (Auditor General 1995). Also as a result of recommendations in the NRTEE report to the Prime Minister (1993), followed through in the Guide to Green Government, the amendments in the Auditor General Act in 1995 also required federal departments to prepare sustainable development strategies, required to be tabled in Parliament within two years of the appointment of the Commissioner. These strategies would continue to be monitored by the Commissioner, with departments being required to report on progress in implementing the strategies.

The 1995 Report of Canada to the United Nations Committee for Sustainable Development reports that all provinces and territories have also created or are in the process of creating their own Sustainable Development Strategies. Most of these are the products of provincial/territorial Roundtables (Government of Canada 1995).

5.1.5 Obstacles to sustainable development in Canada

The above initiatives and advances towards sustainable development in this period should however, be seen in the light of other actions on the part of the Canadian federal government. For example, disestablishing the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, reducing funding for the Green Plan, and reduced funding and staffing levels in organisations such as Environment Canada and Parks Canada, are actions that are seen to be counter-productive to the quest for sustainability. These organisations are at the “coal face” of sustainable development, and are organisations that as we will see, find it difficult to meet their environmental objectives while under-funded and understaffed.

Indeed, some commentators have considered that sustainable development can be a menace, as it has been used by individuals and institutions in Canada to “perpetuate many of the worst aspects of the expansionist model under the masquerade of something new” (Taylor 1994:27). With respect to Canada, the Canadian representative on the Brundtland Commission is reported to have said that sustainable development is in danger of becoming the “fig leaf behind which business hides” (Taylor 1994:27).

Further to this, while there have been a number of institutional responses to the call for sustainability, critics have argued that Canadian resource management practices fail to even meet the criteria for “weak sustainability”, citing examples of exploitative resource management such as forestry practices in British Columbia and fishing in New Brunswick and the Great Lakes (Schrecker 1996:77). While these observations seem valid, it is worth considering Canadian sustainable development within the wider North American context (Taylor 1994). It has been observed that the “wise management” school of resource use has been dominant in North America since the turn of the century, espoused by the likes of Gifford Pinchot and Clifford Sifton.^{33 34} It can be argued, as Taylor (1994) does, that this history, in conjunction with the rise in neo-conservative thought in Canada in the 1980s, has shaped the Canadian Federal Government’s response to the Brundtland Report. This has led to a sustainable development strategy that has been “subsumed within the framework of the expansionist world view” (Taylor 1994:27).

As an example of this approach to sustainable development, Taylor cites the Report of the National Task Force on Environment and Economy (1987) where the Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers is quoted as saying “sustainable development does not require the preservation of the current stock of natural resources or any mix of human, physical and natural assets” (Taylor 1994:27). The report refers to the need to maintain economic growth in so far as “economic growth and prosperity provide us with the capability to support wise resource management and protect environmental quality” (Taylor 1994:27). The emphasis on utility or “wise use” rather than protection is clear and provides support for Taylor’s argument. However, it should be noted that this report was published very shortly after the Brundtland Report - perhaps before the full ramifications of that publication were felt and absorbed and before its influence had become apparent.

Canada’s bold initiative the “Green Plan” has also been the subject of criticism. While it appears that the Green Plan has provided a good catalyst for change away from an *ad hoc* approach to federal policy in this area, more recently, the Green Plan has become “almost invisible domestically” under the Chretien Liberal government (Sadler 1996:48). There have

³³ Gifford Pinchot was the very influential head of the US Division of Forestry from 1898-1910.

been a number of factors involved in this drop of profile: some federal departments, particularly economic and finance agencies didn't appear to accept the plan fully; the plan never gained the full endorsement of ENGOs (environmental non-governmental organisations) because of the nature of the consultation process; and the plan was too centred on Environment Canada (the agency who drafted the plan), with too few links with "the socio-economic policies that drive federal expenditure, decision making and the direction of its development" (Sadler 1996:49). Also, the plan suffered from sharp funding cuts soon after it was introduced (\$600M in 1991 and \$600M in 1992) (Paehlke 2000).

5.1.6 The influence of macro-economic policies

This brings us to the issue of federal resourcing: in addition to the above philosophical underpinnings, and the institutional factors working against the implementation of sustainable management practices, there have been other barriers to the transition to a sustainable Canadian society. The 'triad' of deficits, debts and inflation (Taylor 1994:66), have effectively hamstrung the federal agencies involved in carrying the concept forward and limited federal (and provincial) commitment due to the pre-eminence of other political objectives. The inadequate resourcing of projects is a theme picked up by some federal departments in their current Sustainable Development Strategies, who are faced with the reality of insufficient funding to achieve sustainable development goals. Paehlke (2000) refers to observed environmental cutbacks as the "green scissors". These cutbacks were triggered largely by a widespread recognition in the early 1990s that growth in Canadian public debt had reached its limits. They resulted in a reduction in federal environmental spending of 32% from 1995 to 1998 and considerable retrenchment in terms of staff numbers (e.g. Environment Canada lost 1400 positions from a total of 5700 over the above period (Toner 1996 in Paehlke 2000)).

Apart from the systemic issue of federal and provincial funding for sustainable development initiatives, a number of other less obvious macro-scale influences have also been identified. Paehlke (2000) in describing the gap between the image and reality of sustainable development in Canada, attributes this to a number of factors:

...in addition to the obvious political power of Canada's resource industries, the explanation offered for this seeming disjuncture is a weakening of national governance in Canada, in the face of both external pressure from economic globalisation, and internal pressure from Quebec separatists and other domestic decentralist forces, particularly in western Canada (Paehlke 2000:161).

³⁴ Canadian Minister of the Interior 1896-1905.

Globalisation, and the associated mobility of capital, Paehlke argues, has made it difficult for any nation to be too far out of line in terms of environmental policy that may impact upon production costs. The environmental cutbacks described above have “lessened the government’s impositions on the will of polluters and environmentally insensitive developers” (Paehlke 2000:164). Similarly, the federal government has steered away from upsetting decentralist interests in the provinces through adopting a softer approach in terms of environmental standards and policies. This dual pull of globalisation and decentralisation has fostered dominant “anti-sustainability political forces” (Paehlke 2000:161).

It appears that despite mechanisms being put in place, principally institutional responses, Canada still faces many issues relating to the implementation of sustainable development. Central to the implementation problem is the way that sustainable development is interpreted by different interests, and the level of commitment to implementation at the federal level of government. The level of commitment of the federal government is a significant issue, given that they do have competing interests and political priorities that may seriously hinder the implementation of sustainable development in Canada.

5.1.7 Lack of political commitment?

The level of political commitment to sustainable development is also influenced by a further systemic issue – that is the relative invisibility of the environment as an electoral issue. Research in the late 1980s notes a lack of politicisation of environmental issues in Canada at that time of their work (Sewell, Dearden and Dumbrell 1989). Paehlke (2000) believes this still to be the case, and attributes this to the dominance of other issues over the period from the early 1990s e.g. job losses. However, he also implicates Canadian environmental NGOs, comparing Canadian ENGOS unfavourably with their counterparts in the USA in terms of their strength and their ability to translate environmental concerns into political concerns. Paehlke is critical of the environmental movement of the mid 1990s, believing it too professionalised to mount an effective grass roots political resistance to the above environmental cutbacks.

Paehlke (1992 in Paehlke 2000) identifies two waves of environmental concern in North America, from 1968-1976, and again from 1986 to 1992. Between these waves lays a trough, which coincided with the serious economic dislocations of the late 1970s and the initial rise of neo-conservative opinion. While Paehlke’s analysis does not reach beyond 1992, from looking at the economic downturn of the early 1990s, and the extent to which the environmental cutbacks since that time have gone unchallenged, we can surmise that Canada is experiencing a second such trough – which is conceivably a serious macro-scale or systemic challenge to the implementation of sustainable development in Canada. Paehlke notes that the

co-operative efforts of the roundtables described earlier in this chapter had mostly waned by the early 1990s. While this was in part due to the more pressing concerns of business survival over this period, equally importantly, it was also because public concern for the environment had softened. In summary, it appears that a combination of the above macro political, social and economic factors appear to have impacted upon Canada's ability to operationalise its earlier intentions regarding sustainability. The result, according to one interpretation, is that Canada is, "at best a follower, regarding sustainability, rather than the leader it so recently was" (Pachlke 2000:174).

5.2 Sustainability and tourism in Canada

This section discusses to what extent various federal government initiatives contributed to the operationalisation of sustainable development specific to tourism? Many of the aforementioned initiatives were to interface with tourism in some form or other, based upon a Tourism Canada report (1992) lists the federal initiatives for sustainable tourism up until 1992.

As we have seen, the Canadian federal government responded to the findings of the 1987 World Commission on the Environment and Development, (the Brundtland Report) in a number of ways. Perhaps the most significant of these were in the creation of Canada's Green Plan and the establishment of the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE).

According to Tourism Canada, the Green Plan would aid the "greening" of the Canadian tourism industry, because of its cross-sectoral influences on policies and programmes. An example of this is the government wide review of the impacts of policy and programmes on the environment, and further to this the requirement for all government departments and agencies to produce sustainable development strategies (Tourism Canada 1992:67).

The National Round Table on the Environment and Economy sought out the tourism industry as one of its first partners, with the aim of developing codes of practice that would eventually lead to sustainable tourism development (D'Amore 1992:258). NRTEE together with two provincial round tables initiated a dialogue in 1992 that resulted in a code of ethics for tourists and the tourism industry (Government of Canada 1995). One can surmise that the tourism industry was chosen first, as a soft option for NRTEE, because of the perception that it is an environmentally benign industry, this view having been increasingly promulgated by bodies such as the World Tourism Organisation. One can also surmise that the tourism industry accepted perhaps because of a desire to prove this, but also in the knowledge of the potential market advantage that having (at least nominally), a "certified" sustainable tourism industry

would provide. In 1991 the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC) agreed to initiate a joint dialogue on sustainable tourism, and a year later the codes of practice for sustainable tourism were released, and disseminated to industry via the provincial and territorial tourism industry associations (D'Amore 1992:258).

TABLE 5.1. Federal government initiatives for sustainable tourism.

Legislative and policy instruments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Tourism Policy 1990 • Dissemination of “Action Strategy for Tourism and Sustainable Development (Globe 90 Conference) • Challenge Statement (Globe 92 Conference) – identified key steps towards more sustainable tourism
Other federal government policies which further the objectives of sustainable tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Plan • Parks Canada policy • Forestry Act (1989) • Sustainable Fisheries Policy • Recreational Fisheries Policy (1988) • Environmental Choice Programme • Environmental Partners Fund • Canadian Wildlife Service programmes • Policy on Wetland Conservation • Federal Policy on Land Use • Environmental Industries Programme
Modifications to existing programmes and instruments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental Assessment and Review Programme • Federal-Provincial & Federal-Territorial development agreements subject to sustainable development review process
New programmes/projects designed to promote sustainable tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism Canada sponsored workshop on indicators of sustainable tourism (1991) • Canada leads WTO Environment Ctte developing indicators for Sustainable tourism • Involved in OECD Environmental Indicators Initiative • Federal/Provincial planning sub-agreements adopting integrated environmental planning approach • Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism (TIAC, NRTEE etc)
Partnerships with other sectors/ministries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal government committed to continuing and strengthening federal-provincial and territorial co-operation
Education and training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environment Canada interdepartmental workshop on implementing sustainable development in federal natural resource departments • Federal role as clearing house for information on sustainable tourism
Conferences and symposia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Globe conference series (federal government major contributor) • UNCED – federal government participation

Source: After Tourism Canada (1992).

Yet there was by no means an immediate and unanimous adoption of sustainable tourism development policies. For example, in 1989, two years after the release of the Brundtland Report, and the Green Plan, at the Advanced Policy Forum on Tourism, held in Vancouver, there was no mention of sustainability at all. And still, where “sustainability” has been adopted, for example by tourism interest groups, they continue to embrace tourism-centric views of what sustainability means. For example, the Council of Tourism Associations of British Columbia recently produced a document entitled “Achieving Sustainable Growth for British Columbia’s Tourism Industry” (Council of Tourism Associations of British Columbia 1997). By choosing this title, the Association is in effect homologizing “growth” with “sustainability” – is the Association open to a sustainable future that may necessitate retrenchment rather than growth?

Similarly, a 1994 consultancy report prepared for Industry Science and Technology Canada (a federal dept) and the Ministry of Development, Trade and Tourism (British Columbia), recommended establishing a Tourism Resource Council with the mission of working “to maintain a sustainable environment which can support the tourism industry by providing a unified industry voice regarding proper natural resource management planning, legislation, regulations and practice” (ARA Consulting Group 1994:14). Here again, sustainability is used in a narrow manner. In fact, a “sustainable environment” here is a euphemism for a favourable political environment within which the industry may continue to profit and grow. And “proper natural resource management” would entail policies and actions that contribute to this type of “sustainable environment”. The question then becomes ‘what are they trying to sustain’?

However, these misgivings aside, in addition to the achievements of the Round Tables on sustainable tourism, the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council has complemented their work by focussing on the place for ecotourism in Canada (CEAC 1992). Canada has also contributed to the international debate on sustainable tourism through the work of the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD). In 1993 the IISD prepared a report for the World Tourism Organisation on indicators for the sustainable management of tourism (IISD 1993). Included on the working group were two employees of Tourism Canada, which perhaps indicates a willingness of that organisation, at the time, to accept and contribute towards sustainable tourism development policy and practice.

The next section will detail the contributions of each of the main stakeholders to policy development and implementation for sustainable development. Only those organisations that have been operational during or since the period that sustainable development gained currency, from 1987 onwards, will be considered.

5.2.1 Tourism Canada and sustainable tourism

Tourism Canada, (Canada's national tourism organisation from 1984 to 1995) and to some extent its predecessor, the Canadian Government Office of Tourism, appear to have been organisations that accepted, at least at some level, the need for sustainable tourism – albeit, sustainable tourism in a predominantly “economically sustainable” sense. For example, the major CGOT policy document of 1982, “Tourism in Canada: Past, present, future” talks of “...sustaining the orderly growth of tourism” and of “the optimisation of socio-economic benefits..” (CGOT 1982:55). Some provincial tourism organisations also conflate “sustainability” with “growth”, for example, in the Council of Tourism Associations of British Columbia's publication “Achieving Sustainable Growth for BC's Tourism Industry” (COTA 1997). The same can be said of TIAC, who are a tourism lobby group advocating the “sustained viability and prosperity of Canada's tourism industry” (TIAC 1995b:1). However, these goals do take into account other consideration, such as “conservation of the natural environment of the country” (CGOT 1982:57).

This commitment to the concept of sustainability, was to some extent operationalised through specific institutional arrangements, particularly those made by Tourism Canada. At one stage, Tourism Canada supported a section and a designated Executive Manager for Sustainable Tourism. Consequently, a number of policy documents produced by Tourism Canada in the late 1980s and early 1990s address the sustainability issue. For example, the “Discussion paper on a National Tourism Strategy” prepared in 1989 includes a section on how “concern for the environment can benefit the tourism industry” (Tourism Canada 1989:23). This section notes that Canada's commitment to the concept of sustainable development is both an opportunity and a challenge for the industry - the challenge being to develop activities and attractions that increase tourist numbers without destroying the natural environment. National Parks are identified as the prime example of this dilemma, as they are both ‘consumable’ and ‘sustainable’ (Tourism Canada 1989:23). This policy goes on to include, however, as one of its goals, “maximising the tourism potential of federally owned property...including national parks, by stimulating the development of tourism infrastructure and services in surrounding areas” (Tourism Canada 1989:34). Similarly the Federal Tourism Strategy for Atlantic Canada prepared by Tourism Canada in 1990, notes the need to maximise the tourism potential of federally owned property and facilities including national parks, but in such a way as to “ensure development is compatible with sustainable development” (Tourism Canada 1990:70). Usage of the term “maximise” would seem to be at odds with the “optimising” nature of sustainable development. Similarly, the “federal tourism agenda” outlined in the Tourism on the Threshold document released by Industry Science and Technology Canada in 1990 in the section on sustainable development, calls for a balance between tourism

development and maintenance of Canada's physical and cultural environment. This document does however promise an assessment of the tourism industry's current level of sustainable development activity.

A 1990 report on sustainable development initiatives in Canada, by Environment Canada notes that Industry, Science and Technology Canada (the parent department for Tourism Canada) had produced "An action strategy for Sustainable Tourism Development" (Environment Canada 1990). This "Action Strategy", although prepared by the Policy Directorate of Tourism Canada, is actually a synthesis of ideas discussed during the Tourism Stream of the Globe 90 Conference, held in Vancouver 1990.³⁵ It is a very general document that identifies appropriate roles for industry, governments, ENGOs and tourists in the sustainable tourism development process. There is nothing specific to Tourism Canada's role, or indeed, specific to Canada at all. The 1990 report also mentions that Industry, Science and Technology Canada was in the process of establishing a federal-provincial working group to implement sustainable tourism practices across Canada, and a pilot project to undertake an environmental audit of one sector of the tourism industry. Further initiatives in 1991 include Tourism Canada sponsoring a seminar and workshop on tourism and sustainable development at the University of Waterloo (Tourism Canada 1992).

In a 1995 report on adventure travel in Canada, Tourism Canada recognises the potential of this market but at the same time notes the vulnerability of the national park system, and acknowledges the need for sustainable management of the resource (Tourism Canada 1995). This concern with sustainability is not reflected across the board in all Tourism Canada policy however, for example their 1991 Medium Term Marketing Strategy makes no mention at all of environmental concerns or of responsible marketing (Tourism Canada 1991).

Tourism Canada's parent department, Industry Science and Technology Canada (ISTC) outlined its role with respect to sustainable development in 1991, in a brief (8 page) document. They saw their role as helping to apply solutions to environmental problems through fostering a positive investment climate, development of new more effective technologies and encouraging the growth of Canadian environmental industries. There is no mention of tourism in this brief document, but it must be remembered that tourism was only a very small part of this large federal department. What could be interpreted from document is that ISTC subscribed to the "weak" (Ross 1995) brand of sustainable development. This is revealed through ISTC's emphasis on the development of new technologies as solutions to

³⁵ The Globe (Global Opportunities for Business and the Environment) conferences are multi-sectoral conferences and trade fairs on business and the environment. Both the Globe '90 and the Globe '92 conferences had tourism streams. The Globe '92 tourism stream produced a Challenge Statement which formed part of the input to the Earth Summit in Brazil in 1992 (Tourism Canada 1992).

environmental problems. In the alternative approach, the “strong” version of sustainable development, substitutability is not considered, and the precautionary principle is promulgated. Presumably, Tourism Canada, and consequently the Canadian Tourism Commission that assumed the role of NTO in 1995, also under the auspices of ISTC, would be obliged to abide by their parent department’s interpretation of sustainability.

Tourism Canada also note that they have worked to influence and further promote sustainable tourism objectives relating to UNCED and Agenda 21, through active participation with the World Tourism Organisation. As a result of this work, tourism concerns have been reflected in the development of the Canadian position and in the Plenary presentation by WTO at Rio (Tourism Canada 1992). Unfortunately the work that Tourism Canada undertook with the WTO was not continued under the Canadian Tourism Commission, who withdrew their membership of the WTO in 1996 (Associate interview 1).

5.2.2 The Canadian Tourism Commission and sustainable tourism

With the disestablishment of Tourism Canada in 1995, references to sustainable tourism began to wane. In fact, in Buchanan’s influential 1994 report on the state of tourism in Canada, which led to the formation of the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC), there is no mention at all of sustainable tourism, nor any emphasis placed on protection of the natural environment. Instead, parks are referred to as “underutilised tourism products” (Buchanan 1994:3).

In contrast to its predecessors, who maintained some tourism policy role, the CTC was established primarily as a marketing organisation. Policy concerns were restricted to marketing and promotion, and even those were implicitly defined through its day to day practices rather than through the more explicit conventional policy practice of a federal department. To some extent, the policy practice of Canada’s NTO appears to have informally devolved to the industry lobby group, the Tourist Industry Association of Canada (this is discussed in Chapter Nine).

The CTC 1997 document “Adventure Travel & Ecotourism: The Challenge Ahead” however, recognises (albeit in a minor way) that resource protection/sustainability is one of a number of areas needing work (amongst product development, packaging and business development). It is noted that certain conflicts have arisen from the intense use of certain natural attractions, and that the field practices of some operators are questionable, leading to impacts on plants and wildlife. The document identifies strategies for action, which include co-ordinating access to natural resources and to better manage land use, and to implement environmentally sensitive and sustainable field practices (CTC 1997a:7). However, given that the management

of these resources is outside of their mandate, the impression is given that the solution that the solution to the problem lies mainly in the hands of protected area managers, rather than the tourism industry or its promoters.

Another indicator of the level of interest (or disinterest) with the environmental impacts of tourism and sustainability of tourism can be gleaned from the amount of research being conducted by CTC in this area. CTC's 1996-97 Draft Research Programme allocates a budget of \$4.9 million over approximately 40 projects. Not one of these projects addresses sustainable tourism, nor examines the physical impacts of tourism or attempts to deal in any way with issues of sustainability outside of a narrow economic interpretation (CTC 1995b). Similarly in 1997, CTC developed a research agenda based on a survey of members of Boards of Directors of tourism interest groups including CTC and TIAC members. The survey did not identify environmental issues at all, for possible future research - apart from one respondent who was concerned at restrictions for commercial tourism on public lands, arising partly because of successful lobbying from environmental groups. In this case, the respondent wanted greater research in order to support advocacy and lobbying to ensure future opportunities for Canadian tourism operators (CTC 1997a:21).

Only very recently has there been any overt acknowledgement of any role that CTC may have to fulfil with respect to sustainable tourism. This has come in the form of a discussion document released in 1999.³⁶ This paper was intended to provide input to the 1999 Conference of the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development. It outlines a vision and a mission for the Canadian *tourism industry* rather than for the CTC itself. At no point is the role of the CTC indicated or alluded to. Much of the discussion is couched within the context of providing the appropriate environment for the ongoing *economic* sustainability of tourism (the paper was prepared by the CTC's Industry Competitiveness Unit), although the paper does mention some environmental issues, including pollution, landscape damage, and the impacts of over crowding impacts natural areas. The paper supports the ongoing creation of protected areas, and management of those areas to reduce the impacts of tourism e.g. through zoning or impact assessments. The paper even goes so far as to support the use of carrying capacities, and the "discontinuation of recreation and tourism use" of sites where negative impacts are apparent (although this is tempered by the inclusion of "revitalization" as a requirement of the discontinuation process) (CTC 1999:7). The paper goes on to list tourism industry initiatives for sustainable development to date in Canada, describing the current system of protected areas and sites as the major initiative of the industry for sustainable development. Just how this is seen as an achievement of the tourism industry is difficult to

³⁶ Note that this discussion document was released after the time that the interviews for this research were undertaken. At the time of the interviews (1997) there was no indication that the CTC would be undertaking any policy work in the field of sustainable tourism development.

ascertain, it is nonetheless claimed as their achievement. Of the eleven further initiatives for sustainable development listed, none appear to have involved the CTC.³⁷

5.2.3 Tourism Industry Association of Canada – the industry lobby group, and sustainable tourism

The Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC) describes itself as the leading private sector advocate for policies and programmes that enhance the sustained viability and prosperity of Canada's tourism industry. For some time, TIAC has supported responsible tourism practices that help protect the tourism resource. For example, as early as 1985, TIAC made a tripartite presentation on the subject of sustainable tourism, at the Canadian Assembly on National Parks and Protected Areas – although as is discussed below (in Chapter Twelve), the TIAC view of “sustainable tourism” did not necessarily coincide with those held by other national park-tourism stakeholders.

As mentioned above, one of the early moves in sustainable tourism development in Canada was the national “Tourism Sector Dialogue” initiated by NRTEE, which led to the development of the “Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism” in 1992. This was a co-operative approach between TIAC and the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, and the Provincial Round Tables of Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan. Key sponsors of the project and steering committee members included Tourism Canada and Heritage Canada (the parent department for Parks Canada). In an introduction to the document, the benefits of commitment to the principles and practices outlined in the document are given. These include improving Canada's image as a destination, increasing market share (by attracting tourists seeking “environmentally responsible tourism experiences” and reducing costs through more efficient practices. As an add on, and not included amongst the primary benefits, the tourism industry acknowledges its “responsibility to help protect the environment and conserve resources” and commits itself to co-operation with industry and government towards this end (TIAC & NRTEE 1992:1). Apart from this initial lack of emphasis on the environment, the Guidelines do, however, encourage Tourism Industry Associations across Canada to “Commit to excellence by incorporating sustainable tourism principles in all aspects of policy, planning and decision-making” and include fairly comprehensive codes of ethics for tourists, and the industry, along with guidelines for industry (TIAC & NRTEE 1992:5). Comprehensive guidelines are provided for Tourism Industry Associations (in the provinces and territories), for accommodation, foodservice, tour operators, and Ministries of Tourism (in the provinces and territories). However, rather than attempting to define sustainable tourism succinctly, the document

³⁷ One initiative, the Aboriginal Tourism Strategy, which addresses cultural sustainability, was prepared by Industry Canada, CTC's parent department.

appears to take the approach of defining it through its all encompassing codes of ethics and guidelines.

Specific guidelines for Tourism Industry Associations include “encouraging government efforts in establishing parks, wilderness reserves and protected areas” and collaborating with government in developing “appropriate policies in relation to tourism in these areas” (TIAC & NRTEE 1992:6). The latter statement is particularly ambiguous, considering the tourism industry’s history of advocating pro-development policies for national parks in Canada. The guidelines also include, however, the encouragement of “non-consumptive wildlife experiences...which ensure the sustainability of wildlife” (TIAC & NRTEE 1992:6). With respect to marketing, the guidelines encourage promotion “which highlights Canada’s natural, cultural and historic resources” (TIAC & NRTEE 1992:7). Although no mention is made of responsible marketing of these resources, tour operators are asked to “reinforce environmental and cultural awareness in marketing programmes” (TIAC & NRTEE 1992:18).

In its 1996/97 Statements of Tourism Policy, active policy includes the promotion of environmentally responsible tourism in Canada, and supporting the findings of the “Greening of the Tourism Industry Report” (TIAC 1997b). Furthermore, in a 1997 letter to the Minister of Canadian Heritage, the Chairman of TIAC indicated that the tourism industry was a ‘partner in sustainability’: sustainability in this context, however, remaining undefined (TIAC 1997n).

5.2.4 Sustainability, national parks and the federal government

Dearden (1995) believes that since the late 1980s, there has been a significant change in the way in which Canada’s national parks have been managed, with respect to recreation and tourism development. He attributes this to two factors: first, the increase in public and political support for the parks, and second, “...the currency now being given to the concept of sustainable development” (Dearden 1995:239). This section discusses steps that have been taken by the federal government to operationalise the concept of sustainability in Canada’s national parks.

One of the first steps to formalise sustainability in the park setting was the compilation of a list of principles for sustainable development relating to parks, formulated at the 1990 Federal-Provincial Parks Council Ministers’ meeting. One of these principles was that parks could provide economic benefits (and thus contribute to economic sustainability) by encouraging tourism and meeting the demand for outdoor recreation (Canadian Parks Service 1991:1). The

1992 meeting of Canada's Parks, Wildlife and Environment Ministers in Quebec, identified one action area that was to ensure that protected areas are integral components of all sustainable development strategies. This was adopted as a recommendation to the Government of Canada by the Standing Committee on Environment in 1993 (House of Commons 1993). This Standing Committee also recommended that the policies of Parks Canada and the regulations promulgated under the National Parks Act fully reflect and fulfil Canada's obligations under the Biodiversity Convention (UNCED 1992). It is interesting to note however that some members of this committee felt it important to cast these recommendations in the light of the committee's commitment to *all* the purposes of Canada's national parks - such as their "important role in the education, enjoyment and recreation of Canadians" (House of Commons 1993:31). In the face of now explicitly protectionist legislation and parks policy, coupled with a global emphasis on sustainability, some members of the House of Commons, continued to place recreational use on a par with maintenance of ecological integrity. Here surfaces the recognisable problem of existing national parks policies not being supported politically, or at least being compromised by other agendas when it is not expedient to do so. This issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

There is, however, a commitment for Canada to complete its protected area network, agreed jointly by the Canadian Council of Ministers for the Environment, the Canadian Parks Ministers Council and the Wildlife Ministers Council of Canada. The Green Plan specifically requires the completion of the terrestrial national park system by the year 2000 - that is, all 39 terrestrial natural regions represented by a national park. This commitment is part of the 12% protected space goal established by the Green Plan. The Green Plan has also provided additional funding to Parks Canada to assist in the establishment of new parks. This funding was approximately \$25 million in 1995/96, and \$23 million in 1996/97, the year that Green Plan funding was projected to end.³⁸

A number of more recent federal initiatives are also seen to have positive ramifications for the ecological sustainability of national parks. Among these, the initiative to appoint a Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development must be seen as being beneficial, along with the State of the Environment reports, and the establishment of the Ecological Monitoring and Assessment Network (a broad based network involving many agencies and partners) (Canadian Government 1995).

The federal government has also involved, on occasion, ENGOs in its sustainable development initiatives. For example, the Canadian Nature Federation has produced for the

³⁸ The Green Plan funding although helping in the establishment of parks, raises future problems, due its "sunsetting" in 1996/97. At that time, not all new parks will have been established and funds will still be required for the long term operation of the new parks (Parks Canada 1995b:14)

federal department, Industry Canada, a guidebook for Canadian business on biodiversity (Canadian Government 1995).

5.2.5 Parks Canada and sustainable use of parks

Although the goals of sustainable development have really only been clearly enunciated since the late 1980s, an examination of the Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1970 might indicate that the National Parks Branch had already adopted a sustainable development approach at an earlier time. In the report, the objective of the National Parks Service (as Parks Canada was then known) is written as being “to conserve, protect and maintain the resources of National Parks for the *“enjoyment of present and future generations”* (DIAND 1970:1). In fact, similar wording may be found in the first legislation dedicated to national parks in Canada, the National Parks Act of 1930. While this may be merely a pleasant coincidence of semantics, it does still serve to show what the driving force behind parks management was, and how readily the call for sustainability in the 1980s would fall on an organisation already receptive to the concept. Indeed, Boyd (2000) considers that sustainability *ideals* have been evident throughout Canadian national parks policy development.

The first direct reference to “sustainable economic development” comes in 1984, with Parks Canada noting their contribution to the Canadian tourist industry (Environment Canada 1984). This emphasis on marrying economic goals with environmental goals, is typical of the Parks Canada response to sustainable development over the period of the 1980s, and tied in with the federal government’s environment/economy framework of the period, mentioned above. The receptiveness of the organisation to the concept is further illustrated by an early response from the Canadian Parks Service (CPS) on the sustainability issue: a report prepared as part of a Departmental Task Force on the Environment and Economy, states that “the concept of sustainable development enunciated by the IUCN summarises well the meaning which the Parks Service throughout its history has given to the relationship that it perceived must exist between the protection of the environment and economic development” (CPS 1988:3). The CPS made it clear, however, that economic benefits must be understood to be a *by-product* of the CPS’s efforts to conserve and protect heritage resources, which remain “the first and foremost element of its mandate”. (CPS 1988:18). The above report includes a work plan aimed at promoting and implementing the “environment/economy” thrust within the CPS. Case studies of successful integration of the environment/economy consideration were provided e.g. the Cape Breton Island Integrated Tourism Development Strategy (n.d. in CPS 1988), which was a co-ordinated effort with tourism partners, the province and private sector to enhance international and domestic tourism in that region.

Under the Green Plan the CPS had a number of clear goals, including completion of the parks system, and giving better protection to the natural resources contained within the parks system (Amos 1990). The Green Plan required the CPS, along with other government departments, to undertake certain initiatives towards sustainable development. In response to the Green Plan, an issue analysis on the role of the CPS and sustainable tourism, was prepared in 1991 (CPS 1991). This document reiterates that the principles of sustainable development were not incompatible with the activities of the CPS. More specifically, the principles of sustainable tourism were being applied already at the local park and regional level, but national consistency was required, including the establishment of national principles on sustainable tourism. However there were certain areas where sustainability was of concern to the CPS, for example “runaway tourism” (CPS 1991:7). The emphasis of this report is actually not on ecological considerations (although these are highlighted), but rather on institutional arrangements that may facilitate sustainable tourism development. This is probably a reflection of the report being prepared by the Socio-Economic Branch of the CPS. The socio-economic Branch was created in the 1980s to primarily undertake research regarding the economic impact of tourism in the parks. It also worked in the area of marketing. Latterly it was to undertake much of the policy work regarding the CPS role with respect to sustainable development. (See for example, “making marketing Work for sustainable enjoyment, appreciation and development” CPS Socio Economic Branch (date unknown)). The branch was dis-established in 1993 with the transfer of CPS to the Department of Canadian Heritage.

The above report recognises and emphasises the multi-sectoral approach necessary for sustainable tourism, and identifies a number of tools that could be employed. For example “Institutional Agreements Between Parties Involved in Tourism Activity”, specifically recommended is a memorandum of understanding between the CPS, Tourism Canada and TIAC (CPS 1991:9). Other mechanisms include integrating and co-ordinating tourism planning on a national, provincial and regional basis, and the development of Regional Tourism Management Plans. Marketing is also identified as a means that CPS could use to help achieve sustainable use of heritage resources - through appropriate marketing of appropriate activities at appropriate sites, and by helping to reduce “peaking” of the tourism season.³⁹ It is noted that the National Marketing Strategy aims to achieve this. The document also notes the importance of developing an overriding CPS sustainable development strategy.

A report on sustainable development initiatives prepared by the State of the Environment Reporting Branch of Environment Canada (1990) noted that the CPS was developing a sustainable development strategy which would include long standing practices such as zoning, and environmental assessments, as well as the new biennial “State of the Parks” report to

Parliament. The CPS contribution to *sustainable tourism* would be pursued through the monitoring of resource use, partnership arrangements for product development and marketing, and interpretation of heritage resources and broader environmental questions. The draft CPS “Strategy on Sustainable Development” which had been prepared (1989) met an uncertain fate. The outcome of that document is unclear, as is its relationship with the current Parks Canada Sustainable Development Strategy (Parks Canada 1997c) prepared under the “Guide to Green Government” (Environment Canada 1993).

Although since that time Parks Canada have not adopted many projects within parks under the specific title of sustainability, there have been a number of initiatives, some outlined above that fit within a push for greater ecological sustainability in parks. Further to this, there has been amended national parks legislation (National Parks Act 1988), which recently the Auditor General confirmed as calling for the sustainable use of national parks (Auditor General 1996). The 1991 CPS Proposed Policy notes the importance of heritage areas such as national parks in contributing to sustainable development in Canada. This could be achieved not only through the maintenance of essential ecological processes and life support systems, but also, importantly by providing public examples of non-consumptive economic alternatives to more resource depleting alternatives (CPS 1991). This was followed by the 1994 national parks policy document, “Guiding Principles and Operational Policies” which is explicit in its protectionist principles and outlines a number of specific goals with respect to sustainability: that “heritage places contribute to broader sustainable development”; that heritage places must be “managed in a manner that sustains them and respects their intrinsic values”; and that “sustainable tourism must be based upon maintaining and enhancing ecological and commemorative integrity” (Parks Canada 1994:8, 14).

There have also been other initiatives, such as the development of a range of visitor impact management approaches, that have been employed by park managers over the years (for example, VAMP the Visitor Activity Management Process (Payne and Graham 1984) which aims at reducing visitor impact and thus enhancing ecological sustainability, through identifying appropriate visitor activities in parks). Parks Canada is also refining its cumulative impact assessment tools, for developments within parks, having applied test studies to seven parks by 1995 (Parks Canada 1995). In addition, Parks Canada have recently undertaken a survey aimed at identifying the internal and external stressors leading to ecological impacts in national parks. In this study, tourism was identified as a common source of impacts (Canada Govt. 1995:54).

³⁹ A National Advertising Campaign of \$2M was begun in Feb 1988, to encourage constituency growth and tourism development (CPS 1988).

Despite tourism being an issue, Parks Canada has continued to give recognition and action to its broader role with respect to sustainable tourism (i.e. to consider the economic and social aspects of sustainable tourism). That the Parks Canada management accepts its responsibilities in this area, is illustrated by a recent report to the Standing Committee on Heritage, by the Assistant Deputy Minister (Parks), Dept of Canadian Heritage, Mr Tom Lee, who identified seven challenges for Parks Canada. The first challenge was to complete the parks system. Second was “to contribute to vibrant and sustainable tourism in Canada” (Standing Cttee on Canadian Heritage 1996).

Accompanying the increased emphasis on marketing of parks for tourism by the organisation, there appears to be a recognition that tourism must be ecologically sustainable. The Parks Canada Ecotourism Steering Committee, in the context of identifying further opportunities for ecotourism within the national parks, noted that one of the roles of Parks Canada was to ensure that what is promoted as an ecotourism experience is sustainable (Parks Canada 1994c). Their definition of “sustainable” comprised three criteria: the activity respects the ecological/commemorative integrity of the parks or site; has sound environmental practices; and is economically viable. The Committee also identified the need to monitor the socio-economic and ecological effects of the ecotourism experiences – but for some unstated reason, emphasising the need to be able to quantify the *economic* impacts, rather than the social or ecological impacts.

This broader outlook, beyond the park boundaries – in both the physical and other senses - is also apparent in other Parks Canada activities. For example, Parks Canada is co-operating with the Canadian Forest Service in the development of “model forests” (Canadian Forest Service 1996). This is a co-operative programme in which Parks Canada is supporting the maintenance of sustainable regional landscapes.

5.2.6 Parks Canada Sustainable Development Strategy

Parks Canada produced its draft Sustainable Development Strategy, (a requirement of all federal organisations) in 1997. It is a federal requirement that Sustainable Development Strategies are subject to a consultative process with stakeholders. Parks Canada consulted a broad range of stakeholders, including the ENGOs and the tourism industry, specifically the CTC, through the release of the Department of Canadian Heritage’s (1997) Consultation Paper on Sustainable Development.

The resulting document identifies actions taken to date by Parks Canada in the area of sustainable development. It cites for example the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force’s work in Banff National Park, stating that this brought a new standard to the “quest for sustainable

development” in Parks Canada. The strategy goes on to say that the study is “rooted in the very essence of sustainable development, the recognition that use is dependent on maintaining the ecological integrity of the park” (Parks Canada 1997c:16). The strategy outlines the key sustainable development issues for Parks Canada, identified under four headings: full representation of Canada’s national heritage in the National Parks, National Marine Conservation Areas and National Historic Sites Systems; Maintenance of ecological and commemorative integrity of existing national parks and national historic sites; assessing the broad economic benefits of protected areas; and the greening of government operations. Priorities for sustainable development are suggested, which fit in to five major roles: protection of heritage resources; providing benchmarks of natural values; influencing others to practice sustainable activities (which includes developing partnerships to pursue sustainable development); contributing to sustainable communities (which includes supporting regional tourism); and conserving energy and materials and preventing pollution.

Overall the strategy identifies past and current activities of Parks Canada and interprets them in the context of sustainability, rather than proposing a whole new range of sustainable development policies and programmes. With respect to tourism, the strategy identifies current activities that are considered “in support of” sustainable development, and these include promoting tourism in “under-used” national parks, and the use of national parks in regional/national tourism strategies (Parks Canada 1997c:32).

Parks Canada’s Sustainable Development Strategy, developed in this manner, builds on past efforts to maintain ecological integrity and provide for public enjoyment of parks on a sustainable basis. Contribution to sustainable tourism is sought through monitoring of the natural resource, and, significantly, integrated planning for product development and marketing (Parks Canada 1997c:67).

5.2.7 Is tourism in parks sustainable - how have Parks Canada performed?

The most recent evidence that there have been problems with tourism in Canada’s national parks has come from the Office of the Auditor General who in its broad role, reports on the performance of Parks Canada in meeting its objectives. In a report to the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage in 1997, the Auditor General was critical of the level of biophysical information available to Parks Canada, and of the lack of measurable goals of ecological integrity (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage 1997:31-40). The Auditor General went on to say that if Parks Canada, through its marketing strategy, expects to attract more visitors for longer stays in national parks (this strategy is also expected to increase the number of visitors in the off-peak seasons), then management needs to improve its understanding of the impact of visitor use of national parks and determine the level of use that park ecosystems can

sustain. In light of the Auditor General's concerns about Parks Canada's ability to preserve ecological integrity in national parks and ensure sustainable park use, it was recommended that Parks Canada establish a maximum number of visitors for each park. The explicit call by the Auditor General for limits to park visitation provides an interesting case of *déjà vu*. The call to place numbers or limits on park users was commonplace in the 1970s with the emphasis at that time on park carrying capacity as a key management framework. This call eventually lost its impetus when issues concerning the diversity of users (and their impacts) and the subjectivity of carrying capacity became widely recognised. More recently, enhanced ecological and park user information, combined with more advanced frameworks for application of this information, permit a more sophisticated approach to visitor management.

However, another finding from the audit was that the State of the Parks Reports did not provide a complete and reliable assessment of the ecological condition of the national parks: Thus posing a significant handicap to the application of visitor management frameworks. The Auditor General noted that given Parks Canada's intention to promote national parks extensively, and given the significant risk to ecological integrity associated with increased visitation, comprehensive information on the ecologically acceptable level of visitor use in national parks is important (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage 1997:31-40). There was a need for Parks Canada to improve its baseline biophysical information and to improve its State of the Parks reporting.

Parks Canada recognises this problem, and for example in the four mountain parks, worked with the Banff Bow Valley Task Force (commissioned by the Minister for Canadian Heritage in 1994) where it utilised detailed ecological information to highlight the need to provide for sustainable use of the Bow Valley (BBVTF 1996). Yet, despite these efforts, the Auditor General noted inconsistencies in the Department's approach, citing a recent initiative of the Department of Canadian Heritage, in the form of the publication "Roads to Canada's Great Drives" that heavily promoted the Bow Valley as an attraction.

Furthermore, the Auditor General found in the 1996 audit of Parks Canada, that in some instances, management plans emphasised social and economic factors over ecological factors. This is contrary to legislation and policy. The audit recommended that management plans be updated to reflect the requirements of the National Parks Act and policy. There was also concern over the number of outdated management plans. The average age was about 12 years, even though legislation requires review of management plans every 5 years. Similarly the ecosystem conservation plans, required by policy to be updated every 5 years were also in many cases overdue, or not completed. There was also a problem with business plans not

being linked to management plans, nor was there a process for monitoring the implementation management plans.

In summary it would appear that although mechanisms are in place to facilitate an even greater commitment to the ecological sustainability of parks, and that there is also a willingness to commit, unfortunately there are still some issues for Parks Canada to address. Most significantly, there are policy contradictions to overcome, in terms of the organisations role with respect to the social and economic aspects of sustainable tourism. This is a problem linked to the issue of continued or expanded promotion of national parks for tourism. Along with these policy dilemmas, there are also operational hurdles in relation to monitoring and reporting the progress of sustainable tourism in the parks.

5.3 Discussion

The above analysis of sustainable development in Canada and specifically sustainable tourism in national parks reveals a number of salient points, including an early acceptance of the principles of sustainable development by the federal government, and admirable goals, for example wanting to be the most sustainable nation on earth by the year 2000. Despite some problems, there appear to have been well developed policy initiatives led by Environment Canada, outlined in the Green Plan and then the Guide to Green Government. Specific quantifiable outputs have been identified and required from these initiatives e.g. Sustainable Development Strategies for federal departments and agencies.

Importantly, the above policies have been supported by the provision of funding, however the continuity of funding and future funding ramifications for some of the projected outcomes of Sustainable Development Strategies are uncertain. For example, Parks Canada's commitment to creation of new national parks will be an ongoing funding commitment although Green Plan funding ended in 1997. This situation could have negative effects on existing parks through increased demands for revenue generation through tourism, at a time when tourism has been identified as a source of stress on ecosystems of most parks.

The difference in the extent to which federal agencies interpret their responsibilities with respect to sustainable development has been noted. Although all agencies are required to produce Sustainable Development Strategies, there is still considerable scope for variance in the way that sustainable development is addressed. For example, Parks Canada is an organisation which has appeared to be totally receptive to the concept of sustainable development, this being inherent in the organisational goals and culture (albeit not necessarily specifically referred to as "sustainable development") since the initial creation of national parks in Canada. Parks Canada has had a recent history of policy discussion on this topic, and

has made concrete efforts to implement sustainable development in a practicable sense. The work of the Banff Bow Valley Task Force under the sponsorship of the Minister of Canadian Heritage and with major contributions by Parks Canada has been an example of this. Comparatively, the Canadian Tourism Commission has failed to really take sustainable development on board.

Federal Departments have also reacted differently to sustainable development over time. Looking specifically at sustainable tourism in national parks, this is an area that Tourism Canada devoted some attention to in terms of policy discussion papers and strategies concerning the nature of tourism within parks and the marketing of parks. With the disestablishment of Tourism Canada and the creation of the Canadian Tourism Commission, this previous attention to sustainable tourism practically disappeared from the period of 1995 to 1999, and then resurfaced in a minor way. What is apparent is a renewed interest from this organisation on maximising the tourism benefits from national parks and scant recognition of the requirements of sustainable tourism. This probably results from the narrower focus of the CTC as primarily a marketing instrument with a minimal policy development role. Although Sustainable Development Strategies are required of all federal government agencies, and the CTC would come under the umbrella of Industry Science and Technology Canada's SDS, this is a document that barely recognises the portfolio of tourism within the organisation, and certainly makes no explicit statements concerning the matter. The exception to the CTC's relative silence on the sustainability issue was their recent (1999) discussion document on sustainable tourism. However, there is no evidence of any institutional arrangements having been made by the CTC to support sustainable tourism development.

Likewise, although Parks Canada has constantly recognised the requirements of sustainable tourism for parks, the manner in which it has been interpreted has not been consistent. With recent changes in the funding of Parks Canada, including substantial reductions, sustainable tourism has now been interpreted and addressed within the context of a greater emphasis on revenue generation within the organisation. This drive for revenue has been reinforced by a formal acceptance within Parks Canada that it *does* have a role to play in terms of contributing to a vibrant tourism industry.

In accepting that Parks Canada now has therefore, social, economic *and* ecological sustainability goals, the sustainable development paradigm may potentially serve to complicate the issue of the place of tourism in national parks, rather than provide the much needed direction that some interests (e.g. environmental groups) may have hoped for. Indeed given the cutbacks to Parks Canada, along with proposed changes to the nature of the way in which the organisation operates by creating a Special Operating Agency (with perhaps an even

greater reliance on revenue from tourism), one can speculate about the federal government's commitment to sustainability in this area at all. Certainly the Auditor General's reports on current Parks Canada practices with respect to tourism in national parks has highlighted some of the inconsistencies of its practice in relation to parks policy. It is unlikely that increased reliance on revenue generation, a potentiality with the move to being a Special Operating Agency, would assist in addressing the Auditor General's concerns in this area. However, criticisms of the Auditor General aside, there are indications, for example the Banff-Bow Valley report and Master Plan, that the issue of tourism impact in parks is being treated very seriously by Parks Canada.

The role of inter-sectoral planning and co-ordination is recognised in Canada's sustainable development initiatives, but not highlighted. However, the multisectoral, integrative work undertaken by roundtables on a number of levels must be acknowledged. A number of operational and successful forums have been established in many areas. However, to date, there has only been one example of such an integrated approach being adopted in the tourism policy arena – that of the NRTEE and TIAC, which resulted in the production of guidelines for sustainable tourism. Both Parks Canada and Tourism Canada have identified the need for inter-sectoral planning and co-ordination, but their policy initiatives were never really translated into structured collaboration. The recent collaboration of Parks Canada with CTC through the Heritage Tourism Secretariat of the Department of Canadian Heritage is one avenue with potential to enhance the ecological sustainability of tourism in national parks. This collaboration will be addressed in detail in Chapters Ten and Eleven.

5.3.1 Sustainable development and interorganisational relations

One of the problems identified in Chapter Two with regard to implementation of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development, and consequently one of the problems associated with domain development was the problematic nature of the concepts. Sustainability is interpreted in a myriad of ways by different interests. Within the Canadian context, this issue has been partly addressed by the adoption of a definition of sustainable development federally. Although this should enhance understanding and coincidence of values among domain members, in practice the concept is still widely interpreted, resulting often in a less than satisfactory level of domain consensus.

The federal government has also made a number of institutional arrangements for the operationalisation of the sustainable development. Key among these are the amendments to the Auditor General Act 1996 that provide the legal framework for the implementation of sustainable development across the federal government: for example through creating a Commissioner for the Environment and Sustainable Development, and necessitating the

creation of sustainable development strategies. The latter in particular requires, as part of that process, federal organisations to consult widely on the creation of their strategies. Thus the contingency of *necessity* has resulted in federal organisations forming temporary but structured relationships to help shape the operationalisation of sustainable development within their particular sectors. Similarly with the widespread public and political endorsement (described as a paradigm change by Brown (1992)) of sustainable development, various organisations have been subject to seeking *legitimacy* through adopting the concept, at least symbolically.

The existence of national co-ordinating bodies such as the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy has also set precedents or models for the development of other co-operative relationships. And through the wide dissemination of information from such bodies and from the co-ordinating department, Environment Canada, the context for co-operation, and the structures and methods are well established.

However, a number of inhibiting factors have been identified for relationships within the sustainable development domain. First, that a number of exploitative resource-use practices are evident and often widely publicised across Canada. Through the persistence of these practices, they are implicitly endorsed by the federal government (although in practice may be outside of their immediate control). These actions have the impact of confusing the domain, making the meaning of sustainability even more problematic in the Canadian context, and adding credence to weak interpretations of sustainability. If federal government initiatives in this area are perceived to be subsumed within an “expansionist model” (Taylor 1994:27) in which economic considerations have pre-eminence, other potential domain members may not recognise there being any value in co-operation. Confusing the domain further has been a failure to accept the Green Plan on the part of some federal organisations (e.g. Finance (Sadler 1996)), and its poor linkages with other federal macro policy, resulting in a loss of credibility and profile for a concept that should be serving to unify disparate interests.

Further to this undermining of the concept, there has been a lack of co-ordination between the federal government and NGOs in key institutional arrangements – for example over the development of the Green Plan (Sadler 1996). This failure may further impact on the credibility of and trust in the federal government by stakeholders and contribute to problems of stakeholder legitimacy in other sector specific domains.

Other criticisms relate to budget cutbacks to federal organisations that are perceived to have a key role in the operationalisation of sustainable development. This potentially results in difficulties in the structuring of domains and formalisation of relationships when organisations

who are expected to have a key role in fostering relations are inadequately resourced to maintain and develop them.

Specifically in the national park - tourism domain, development of the domain is facilitated through an early acceptance of the sustainable development concept on the parts of the key organisations, the parks agency and the national tourism organisation. The parks agency in particular, in both policy and practice has been historically receptive to the concept, although operationalisation of a balanced version of sustainability from their point of view appears to have been hampered by political intervention favouring a more development oriented version. Domain consensus has been challenged by different perspectives on sustainable tourism development, the national tourism organisation's parent department, Industry Canada adopting a 'weak' version of sustainability, and tourism interest groups adopting even more strongly development-oriented definitions of sustainable tourism. A recent development with the creation of the Canadian Tourism Commission has been a narrowing of the NTO's focus, away from a broader policy perspective that once included the issue of sustainability.

Another factor facilitating interorganisational relationships within the domain is that there is a recognition, by some key stakeholders at least, of the value of co-operation: this includes Parks Canada and the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC). TIAC has been involved in one major collaborative project with the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, which resulted in the development of guidelines for sustainable tourism. Such examples of co-operative relationships assist in developing domain consensus, and signal to other stakeholders the value of co-operation in terms of the resultant products.

The next chapter will focus on one of the institutional issues related to sustainable development, and will outline the context for interorganisational relations in Canada. Chapter Six is (in a similar way to this chapter) in response to calls for a greater consideration of context in the examination of interorganisational relations. It provides an historical overview of how federal government agencies have conducted internal and external relations, thus looking at system-wide settings that may have had ramifications for relationships within the study domain.

Chapter 6: Interorganisational relations in Canada

6.1 The Canadian context for interorganisational relations

Researchers in the field of interorganisational relations have called for a greater consideration of the wider political and economic contexts within which relationships form and/or flounder (e.g. Benson 1982; Whetten 1982). This chapter will describe the Canadian environment for interorganisational relations, and show how the “mood” for relations has changed with successive governments, and as a result of wider social shifts. Among the contextual factors to be considered are the rise in political awareness and participation in political processes by the Canadian populace, and the influence of the Canadian federal political system. The significance of various structures and procedures for communication at the federal level is discussed, and how these effect internal relationships of the federal government (among its own agencies), and externally with outside interests – most specifically with business and environmental groups.

This section will also consider the role of interest groups, which are said by some commentators (e.g. Presthus 1973) to provide much of the energy that activates the formal political structure, yet this role is downplayed by others (e.g. Pross 1975) who maintain that the bureaucracy dominates relationships within the political process. The manner in which these interest groups relate or communicate their needs with each other and with the government is examined.

Finally, the impact on relationships of recent initiatives of the Canadian federal government with regard to sustainable development, and conversely, the impact of the above factors on the implementation of sustainable development, will be outlined.

6.1.1 History of government relations in general

Using the 1960s as a convenient starting point, many authors, such as Doerr (1981) note this period as a turning point in the participation of citizens in the decision-making activities of government. This is a phenomenon not confined to Canada but typical of western democracies. The ‘age of participatory democracy’ in the 1960s raised citizens’ expectations of their role in policy making. However, as Doerr notes, many public groups learned that participation did not necessarily result in decision-taking. The era of participatory democracy had encouraged confrontation, and it wasn't until the late 1970s that the “new frontier of consultation” emerged with a renewed search for consensus between government and the public (Doerr 1981:137).

In Canada, the Trudeau administrations of the late 1960s and 1970s implemented policy and administrative reforms. Co-ordination and collaboration between and among the different parts of the government and with its stakeholders became an important part of these reforms: “A major effort was made to rationalise relationships, structures, and processes in such a way that the interdependence of policy issues would be reflected in the processes by which policy was made” (Doer 1981:148). Appropriate mechanisms for co-ordination within the public service and for consultation with external interests were developed (Doerr 1981). Consequently, some researchers, such as Pross (1975a:165) have noted that one of the characteristics of Canadian pressure groups is that they tend to establish “close and amicable relationships with relevant government departments”. Jackson and Atkinson (1980) go further, and describe the interaction between interest group leaders and politicians or bureaucrats as characteristically co-operative and where there is an “ethos of mutual accommodation” (in Jackson, Jackson and Baxter-Moore 1986:546). However, the questions remain: To what extent does this spirit of co-operation exist today? To what extent is it contextual, present to varying degrees for different organisations and for different issues? And what factors shape the relationships between different organisations over different issues?

6.1.2 Mechanisms for co-ordination

Doerr provides a very good overview of the range of mechanisms available to facilitate co-ordination within the Canadian political system, dividing these into two categories: “Co-ordination within the administrative machinery”; and “Interaction with the environment” (1981:138). Policy making consists of two groups of activities: the internal co-ordination of departmental and agency activities and consultation and collaboration with individuals and groups.

6.1.3 Interdepartmental co-ordination

Within the federal organisation are a number of powerful central agencies, including the Prime Ministers Office, The Privy Council Office, the Treasury, and the Department of Finance. These agencies have a stated purpose of streamlining the governmental process (Jackson, Jackson and Baxter-Moore 1986), however, much of the individual issue-level co-ordination is facilitated by a raft of more specific co-ordinative mechanisms.

These mechanisms include interdepartmental committees, interdepartmental task forces, and intra-ministry systems. During the 1940s and 1950s any policy co-ordination required was handled by the deputy ministers in a very informal fashion. Government was less complex, and individual ministers were powerful and ran the departments without advice, let alone

interference, from anyone – this situation applied to relations with both internal and external interests (Gillies and Pigott 1982 in Thorburn 1985:11). Up until and during the 1970s cohesion in policy planning amongst federal organisations had been frustrated by the existence of different planning systems (Adie and Thomas 1987). This exacerbated what was an *ad hoc* approach to relations with other federal stakeholders. By the 1960s, reorganisation and the establishment of new departments was a frequently used mechanism to achieve co-ordination in the policy process (Adie and Thomas 1987).

From the late 1970s, interdepartmental committees were the principal means of communication and deliberation in the federal bureaucratic establishment (Campbell and Szeblowski 1979 in Kernaghan and Siegel 1991:361). An interdepartmental committee for tourism convened intermittently from the early 1970s (Parks Canada 1975). Doerr (1981) stresses the importance of interdepartmental committees, noting how they are used for a range of policy functions, for example initiating or co-ordinating new undertakings, negotiating or arbitrating interests, advising, evaluating and monitoring. In 1975 Doerr (1981) estimates that there were around two hundred interdepartmental committees, a figure that had grown to an estimated several hundred interdepartmental committees at the senior-executive level alone, by 1981. The general role of interdepartmental committees is to bring together interested parties (within government) and resolve conflicts before any recommendations are made to ministers. The general operational mode of the committees is to seek consensus through co-ordination. Hartle (1979 in Nossal 1985:308) describes the dominant characteristic of interdepartmental relations as being “friendly competition, not conflict”, despite there being indications of conflict in the policy process in Ottawa. However, Van Loon and Whittington (1987) have portrayed the interdepartmental committee system as “institutionalised discord”, where interdepartmental combat occurs.

Interdepartmental task forces are supposed to play a similar co-ordinating role to committees, but they are usually of a more temporary nature, and often consist of middle-management officials seconded from departments and agencies. Both interdepartmental committees and task forces are complementary forums to cabinet and its committees (Doerr 1981). From the mid 1970s sectoral committees comprising Deputy Ministers, were established to facilitate interdepartmental consultation. Privy Council Office officials played a role in promoting this interdepartmental co-ordination by participating in these meetings of so called “mirror committees” and overseeing policy proposals (Kernaghan and Siegel 1991).

Researchers have noted the increase in “interdepartmentalism”, which witnessed a substantial corps of interdepartmental diplomats by the early 1980s (e.g. Schultz 1982 in Kernaghan and Siegel 1991). Nossal talks of a “highly institutionalised system of interdepartmental

consultation on policy issues which overlap jurisdictions” (Nossal 1985:308). The system has not been without changes, and interdepartmentalism has at times been challenged - for example by the Turner government of 1984 that abolished the above mirror committees. However, later moves, under the Mulroney government involved establishing a protocol, that departments sponsoring legislative changes must have undertaken adequate interdepartmental consultation prior to the proposal reaching cabinet (Kernaghan and Siegel 1991). These moves ensured a continued trend towards interdepartmentalism, and are significant considering the important role of Cabinet in the policy process today (Adie and Thomas 1987). Co-ordination and liaison are essential activities in resolving any interdepartmental conflicts, and facilitating the progress of major policy changes through the Cabinet system (Doerr 1981). In the previous chapter, it was noted how inadequate interdepartmental consultation on behalf of Environment Canada led to the ‘rejection’ of the Green Plan by some agencies (Brown 1992).

Kernaghan and Siegel (1991) note that a valuable co-ordinating role continues to be played by the Co-ordinating Committee of Deputy Ministers. It should be noted though, that this only comprises the large central agencies of the federal government such as the Treasury Board Secretariat and the Privy Council Office.

However, while co-ordination and liaison are essential activities, the value of these interdepartmental committees has been questioned. Doerr (1981) for example, believes that the emphasis of committees and task forces has typically been on “process” rather than substance: “Process knowledge is a key attribute for participating officials, and substantive expertise may be secondary to an ability for making ideas acceptable to colleagues” (Doerr 1981:143). Hence the activities of these forums inevitably involve, as mentioned above, a degree of consensus. This representational approach, or over emphasis on reaching consensus has been criticised by authors such as Johnson (in Doerr 1981:143) in that bargaining skills and effective co-ordination may become more important than ideas of substantive reform. As May (1990 in Wilson 1992:116) notes, original ideas are about as out of place in these meetings as a ouija board. While Doerr points out that the effectiveness of these committees as policy instruments would be difficult to measure, it is possible to question the value of the new processes of consultation. Indeed, consultation and consensus building exercises can provide yet another avenue for the promotion of self interest by the already powerful interest groups (Reuber 1978). Thus, reaching consensus can potentially inhibit challenges to existing power dynamics; hence consensus can mean conservatism.

Other government departments such as the Treasury Board may have objectives that are not altogether compatible with those of government departments that have social or environmental responsibilities. For example, Treasury Board policies have resulted in Parks Canada having a greater revenue generating need: this may only be addressed through increasing tourism in the parks, which is not entirely compatible with Parks Canada's mandate and objectives.

6.1.4 Intra-departmental co-ordination

Within Ministerial portfolios there are often a range of departments and agencies, and within departments, a further range of agencies and programmes. Indeed, this is the case for both Industry Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage, both parent departments of the federal organisations in this study.

Historically both the tourism and the parks organisations have been “buried” among a plethora of other agencies and programmes. No serious effort was made to co-ordinate the activities of agencies within single portfolios until the mid 1960s (Doerr 1981). Non-departmental agencies were grouped around central policy departments within portfolios, and portfolio committees were established.

However, agencies whose policy functions may not be clearly defined, or for which no policy responsibilities are identified fell outside of these co-ordination attempts. Because of their anomalous position with respect to the structural mechanisms for co-ordination, these ‘heretics’, as Doerr (1981) points out would inevitably continue to develop and refine policy through the course of their normal operations.

It appears that the Canadian Tourism Commission is one such organisation. The CTC lost the broader policy responsibilities held by earlier incarnations of Canada's national tourism organisation, and with its new found narrower functional role, is one agency that would seem to fit this description. Its ‘non-policy’ function is still extremely significant in the study domain.

6.1.5 Relations with outside interests

As well as the formal techniques and mechanisms of consultation and investigation, there is a high degree of interaction between the government and outside interests that is relatively unstructured (Doerr 1981). Examples of formal mechanisms for interaction with the environment include royal commissions, task forces, roundtables, white and green papers and parliamentary committees. The Trudeau administrations developed many of these participatory processes in the early 1970s, whereas up until then, especially from the late

1950s to the late 1960s, one off, *ad hoc* responses such as Royal Commissions had been the primary means of investigating issues and seeking public input (Doerr 1981).⁴⁰

The age of participatory democracy of the 1960s saw the emergence of many previously inarticulate interest groups, including environmentalist groups. These groups have tended to establish contacts with politicians and officials to exchange ideas and information and to make demands. Those groups that have established a permanent lobby with an office and funds are often more effective in their lobbying (Doerr 1981). And it also appears that some independence from government funding is an advantage (although this is debated below). Some lobby groups, particularly well established groups, also provide an annual public submission to cabinet. Eventually the unstructured participation of the late 1960s and early 1970s was gradually replaced by channelling interest group participation into departmental advisory committees (Doerr 1981). Departmental advisory committees are mechanisms by which ministers and their officials consult with client groups. Further to this, the use of intermediaries, for example consultants employed by interest groups and by political and civil officials to gather information and liaise with client groups, has also emerged as a mechanism for co-ordination (Doerr 1981).

More recently, the transparency of political processes through freedom of information legislation, along with greater media coverage has influenced communication between government and the public. One might suppose that there is now a greater emphasis on inclusivity because of greater transparency. However, no matter how transparent, structured and inclusive the policy process has become, selective and informal consultations with interest groups and individual lobbyists have remained a regular part of policy making (Doerr 1981). That is, transparency does not necessarily facilitate equitable consultative processes.

In summary, the period up to the 1960s was characterised by informal interactive processes, and relations between government organisations and with interest groups was often *ad hoc*. From the 1970s, interorganisational relations became more structured and formalised. Although the media is cited as being a significant facilitator in providing access to the government by interest groups, by contributing to the transparency of the process, this has been questioned: who consults who does not necessarily change just because it can be observed.

⁴⁰ Doerr (1981) notes that Royal Commissions are valuable in terms of the opportunity provided for interest groups to make submissions, but have a drawback in the lengthy time frame involved for a "result". Task Forces provide a speedier process but are less substantive in terms of the information input.

6.1.6 Business-government relations

The nature of business-government relations is central to this study. The interorganisational relations between parties in this domain must be considered in relation to the public-private sector relations in the society within which they operate. In this particular study, the nature of tourism in national parks is shaped by interaction between business and government. It is this interface that is crucial. Business is represented by the tourism industry and its lobby groups; and government, primarily represented in this case by Parks Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage. Of course the federal government is not one homogenous organisation, but comprises many agencies all of which have varying attitudes and consequent relationships with business. Thus, some government agencies may adopt pro-business standpoints. The Canadian Tourism Commission is one such agency, being a special kind of government agency (as discussed in Chapter Five), in that it is established on a business model, has clearly business-oriented objectives, and very little if any mandate to contribute to some broader government objectives, such as sustainable development.

An examination of how business-government relations have developed in Canada historically may help us in interpreting developments in the park-tourism policy field and shed light on the current situation. In the 1980s business-government relations in Canada appeared to be at an all time low (Murray and McMillan 1983). Indeed, the relationship has been characterised as one where social, geographic and institutional isolation of government and business in Canada was typical (French 1980). In 1981 Prime Minister Trudeau described business and government as the “two solitudes” of Canada, with each growing increasingly antagonistic, mutually suspicious and ignorant of the other (Trudeau 1981 in Murray and McMillan 1983:592). However, this characterisation has been challenged. The “two solitudes” of business and government did not necessarily have a conflictual relationship, nor necessarily one that was overly co-operative (Islam and Ahmed 1984 in Stanbury 1988). That is, Trudeau’s characterisation was considered by some to be an exaggeration.

Indeed, the conflict or lack of co-operation identified by commentators in more recent times is at odds with Canada’s history as a country that has been developed around a “special blend of private initiative and public policy” (Murray and McMillan 1983:592). This view is also held by others who describe business-government relations in Canada, at least until the 1950s, as being symbiotic with each party holding the other in considerable esteem (Thorburn 1985; Clarke 1968 in Murray and McMillan 1983:602). Such has been the role of business elites, that Presthus describes public policy making in Canada as a process of elite accommodation (Presthus 1973).⁴¹

⁴¹ A conventional observation about power in Canadian society, arises from the work of Porter. Porter’s analysis of power in Canadian society refers to a “confraternity of power” dominated by the business elite and reinforced by

The relationship dates back to settlement by Europeans, and there has been a history of joint public-private ventures that have been critical to the economic survival of the country: for example the activities of the Hudson Bay Company, and of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Chapter Eight examines the role that the Canadian Pacific Railway played in the establishment and development of national parks in the west of Canada. Brooks and Stritch (1991) when considering the historical relationship between business and government note the significance of personal relationships between politicians and business in 19th century Canada. Frequently, for example, politicians were on the boards of directors of corporations, and several of Canada's founders and most prominent politicians, were also railroad promoters. Conflict of interest was not considered a very serious problem in those days (Brooks and Stritch 1991:36).⁴² This investment of personal interest served to strengthen business and government relations, at a time when many important decisions were being made on resource allocation. Although obvious conflicts of interest may be a thing of the past, contemporary relationships between Ministers and certain interest groups are still often extremely close (Jackson, Jackson and Baxter-Moore 1986).

6.1.7 Clientelism to participatory democracy

However, as indicated above, the relationship between business and government has changed. The consensus that prevailed in the 1950s that was centred on growth had vanished by the 1970s (French 1980). Business and government worked together to plan the economy during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s and this mutual accommodation was facilitated by a shared belief in how the goals of society (i.e. economic growth and prosperity) could be achieved (Gillies 1981). Interest groups whose concerns corresponded to the functions of government agencies were very important over this period: the interest groups could offer expertise and advice for policy development in return for policy input. Most groups shared the same professional values as the government officials with whom they dealt, and cosy "clientele" relationships developed (Gillies 1981:10).

The change that occurred to this relationship is linked to the age of participatory democracy, in that governments were progressively required from the 1960s to consider a broader group of stakeholders, and found it more difficult to accommodate the wishes and desires of the business clique. Coupled with this, since the 1970s, lobby groups have demonstrated an increased sophistication of their lobbying (Murray and McMillan 1983). It is important to note

shared social backgrounds, family connections and the movement of individuals between state and business elites (Porter in Brooks 1989:122; Brooks 1989:123).

⁴² In 1873, Prime Minister McDonald accepted a large campaign contribution from a Canadian Pacific Rail (CPR) executive in return for the promise that the executive would be made president of the company chartered to build a transcontinental railroad. This led to the fall of the McDonald government. It is interesting to note the links

that it was not only social and environment movements that became institutionalised and vocal at that time. For example, the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI), which is described as being probably Canada's most powerful pressure group (Brooks and Stritch 1991), was also formed in the mid 1970s (1976). Apart from the proliferation of interest groups, the growing influence of the media, particularly television, affected changes to government relationships (Pross 1975a). Consequently, a consideration of how business interacts with government must also take account of how other groups such as industry lobby groups, and environmental protection groups, interact.

While the business-government relationship was typically 'close' for a substantial portion of Canada's history, post 1950 a number of changes occurred resulting in a deteriorated relationship. The gap that emerged between business and government from this period may also be linked to structural changes within the Canadian federal government. A number of Canadian writers point to changes in government policy-making structures and procedures from the late 1960s. In particular they note the growing centralisation of power in "super ministries" such as the Treasury Board and Finance, and the growth of extra ministerial bodies such as the Privy Council Office and the Prime Minister's Office (Murray and McMillan 1983:605). These changes can be seen as part of a trend occurring more generally in western societies at this time. A trend driven in part by new forms of systems management techniques and rationalistic planning processes along with a greater awareness of the complexity and interdependence of issues (Murray and McMillan 1983).

However, recent departures of business and government have also been attributed to a lack of effective and continuing mechanisms of government-business co-ordination in Canada (despite earlier government initiatives), with much of the relationship conducted in an *ad hoc* manner (French 1981). Such mechanisms could be seen to be even more critical in modern times with the increased size of both government and the private sector, and an increasing complexity of issues.

6.1.8 Recent influences of federal macro-economic policy

Most recently the emphasis on privatisation and deregulation by Ottawa and some of the provinces since the mid 1980s has influenced business-government relations, and may have served to restore the traditionally strong alliance between these parties. Monetarist policies have allowed state intervention to fall into disrepute, and reinstated the primacy and necessity of the profit motive (Johnson and Stritch 1996). A major consequence has been that the state has retreated or withdrawn from many traditional roles. These policies themselves are seen to

between CPR and tourism development in Banff National Park, which had the enthusiastic support of McDonald as Prime Minister in the 1880s.

be partly a result of lobbying by powerful business interests, and have served to restore the power of the business sector at the expense of the power of the state.

Linked to this overall shift in the role of the state, and to redefined fiscal priorities, and Treasury Board initiatives, the federal government has been encouraging departments and agencies to enter into partnerships with external organisations. Illustrative of this is the Treasury Board guide for federal managers considering entering into partnerships, entitled “Six Steps to Successful Collaboration” (Treasury Board 1995). The motive behind this appears to be fiscal, and as the Treasury Board writes, “the necessity to provide *affordable* [my emphasis] quality programs and services...have made various forms of partnering more attractive to federal managers” (Treasury Board 1995:iii).

However, there have been other factors that have contributed to the need for government organisations to seek more partnering arrangements – that is, these initiatives cannot simply be reduced to initiatives driven by economic imperatives. Other factors include issue complexity (more stakeholders), changing perceptions of the role of government (governments should “steer and not row”), devolutionary pressure, increase in private sector capacity, and changing relations between government and the public (government is no longer “all powerful” or “all wise”) (TBS 1999:1).

6.1.9 Impediments to partnerships

Such is the importance of the ‘partnership paradigm’ that in 1999 the Treasury Board Secretariat undertook a study of the impediments to partnerships with the federal government (TBS 1999). The study took the form of a survey of federal organisations engaged in active partnerships. The Treasury Board Secretariat describes a partnership as:

... an arrangement between two or more entities that enables them to work co-operatively together towards shared or compatible objectives and in which there is some degree of shared authority and responsibility, joint investment of resources, shared risk and mutual benefit. Partnerships may be consultative (share information), contributory (share financial and other support), operational (share work) or collaborative (share decision-making) (TBS 1999:3).

The study identified a host of impediments that were grouped into three main categories: legislative and policy impediments; process impediments; and people and organisational impediments. The first category referred mainly to funding restrictions, and lack of flexibility in financial arrangements. Process impediments centred around approval delays, and the complexity of contribution agreements. Pressure to implement partnering arrangements too rapidly was an issue for some federal organisations. People and organisational impediments were identified as the most important category. The government system did little to encourage

partnering, and the prevailing culture of risk aversion may actively discourage such arrangements. A shortage of staff with the necessary skills was identified, and turf and jurisdictional protectionism and interpersonal conflicts created further difficulties. Some partners lacked the capacity to fulfil their responsibilities, whilst inadequate representation of certain stakeholders also caused problems (TBS 1999).

Indeed, it appears that many of the 'problems' are consequences of the same processes that have driven the 'reunion' between business and government. The irony is that the state has reduced funds to government organisations, withdrawn from certain roles and invited greater private sector involvement, yet this very process of retrenchment has resulted in under-funded, understaffed, poorly skilled units without the necessary resources to engineer fruitful relationships with the private sector. One possible outcome is that the potential renaissance of the business-government relationship sparked by monetarist federal policies in the late 1980s and the 1990s may be inhibited in some circumstances by the public sector partner being unable to bring adequate resources into the relationship.

While this section has outlined the development of business-government relations, it is now important to consider the government's relationship with what have until relatively recently been considered more peripheral interests.

6.2 Influence of interest groups

Pross (1975b) believes that Canadians underestimate the importance of the role played by interest or pressure groups.^{43 44} Since the 1960s an intense period of lobby group formation has resulted in what Knoke (1990:192) terms as an "advocacy explosion". In 1986 there were over three hundred trade and professional organisations represented in Ottawa alone, employing an estimated two thousand staff members whose role it is to develop relations with the government. Further to this, there is said to be about 1,800 environmental groups scattered throughout Canada, with a membership of between 1-2 million (Wilson 1992).

Relatively unstructured participation of interest groups in the policy process was the rule during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was despite efforts by the Liberal Government, which, for example, in 1968 released a paper on a "Just Society", with emphasis placed on measures to increase the participation of groups (Doerr 1981). Other government initiatives included funding voluntary organisations, which was a priority of the Secretary of State's

⁴³ Pross describes 'pressure groups' as "organisations whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest. He notes that the term may be used interchangeably with "interest group" (Pross 1975b:2)

⁴⁴ Kernaghan and Siegel (1991) distinguish between "special interest groups" which are motivated by the interests of their members (e.g. trade associations) and "public interest groups" which consider the interests of the wider public.

department in the early 1970s. Gradually more structured forums began to appear, with for example (as noted above), a greater emphasis being placed on channelling interest group participation into departmental advisory committees (Doerr 1981). Of course, there are recognisable advantages to the government's inclusion of interest groups in the policy process. For example, consultations with interest groups may provide a means of testing clientele opinion. There is also the potential value of interest groups as a source of information. Doerr notes how the "barter system of information exchange can be the lifeblood of the official, and even ministers. Ministers' aides, for example, may consider this kind of network of contacts as important and potentially as fruitful as the information network in the bureaucracy" (Doerr 1981:155). And apart from the above aspects, an important part of the government's relationships with interest groups, is the public relations aspect (Doerr 1981). In this way, relationships are symbolic rather than substantial.

6.2.1 How interest groups operate

Presumably interest groups must communicate their needs and desires to the government by some means: how is this communication managed, and what sorts of relationships exist with government? Pross (1975b) undertakes an analysis of pressure groups, using a framework based on a typology of the organisational base of pressure groups, allowing an examination of group behaviour in terms of their objectives, the way they are organised, and how they communicate with government. If we look in particular at this last feature, as it has the most relevance to interorganisational relations in this study, pressure groups may be divided into two types according to the form of this communication: groups may be media-oriented or access-oriented. Media oriented groups use such techniques as publicity stunts and protests, public presentations of prepared briefs to officials, advertising and public relations. Media-oriented communication attempts to influence public opinion generally as well as to win specific decisions from government officials. The specific technique used will vary according to how developed or institutionalised the group is (Pross 1975b). For example, fledgling or issue-oriented groups may chose publicity-focused protests whilst institutionalised groups are likely to go for public relations and image building techniques.

The second type of approach used by groups is access-oriented communication. This focuses on generating a receptive attitude at the political and administrative levels. Confrontation is at one end of this continuum, but a more frequently used technique is the cultivation of regular and private meetings with officials and politicians. At the other extreme, group members infiltrate the public establishment (Pross 1975b). In practice, interest groups often adopt a dual approach: Wilson's (1992) analysis of Canadian environmental groups' modes of action observes that although some resources are allocated by groups to the direct lobbying of politicians and bureaucrats, the emphasis is on a public (media) oriented approach.

6.2.2 Foci of interest group lobbying

Applying this framework to the Canadian political system, Pross speculates that because of the nature of the system, which in 1975 was characterised as having a lack of openness and being based only to a limited extent on a pluralistic approach to decision making, certain types of pressure groups are more effective in achieving their goals than others (Pross 1975b).

The Canadian political system tends to favour elite groups making functional, accommodative, consensus-seeking techniques of political communication, rather than conflict-oriented techniques that are directed towards the achievement of objectives through arousing public opinion... Effective interaction with the Canadian policy system then depends on the cultivation of access to those public decision makers having influence in the policy area of greatest concern to the pressure group (Pross 1975b:19).

The main target for this attention has traditionally been Cabinet. Interest groups, whether issue-oriented or access-oriented attempt either “to secure access to or embarrass ministers into compliance” (Pross 1975b:20). The significance of cabinet in Canada is clear. Because the policy agenda is largely determined by cabinet, those interests that wish to influence policy, focus their efforts on cabinet and those parts of the federal system that influence cabinet’s decisions or implement its decisions (Brooks 1989).

In a survey of the behaviour of pressure groups in Canada, Presthus (1973 in Brooks 1989:120) found that the majority (65%) of all interest group officials ranked either the civil service (27%) or cabinet (38%) as their primary target for influencing policy on specific issues. Organisations representing *business interests* were found to direct more attention to cabinet and the bureaucracy than any other type of pressure group. Brooks (1989) interprets this as proof of the relatively greater access that business enjoys at crucial stages of policy development and implementation.

The role of central agencies such as the Treasury Board is also crucial. The size and importance of the Treasury Board has increased significantly over the last thirty years, as too has stature of the Privy Council Office. The Privy Council is the central agency charged with overall policy coherence and planning for the federal government. By strengthening the overall power of cabinet and the central agencies that support its decision making, (at the expense of the influence of the departmental bureaucracy) it has become more important for interest groups to direct their energy at this “political hub” of the policy process (Brooks 1989:140). One obvious target for interest groups is the relevant Minister, but ironically, because cabinet committees effectively make final decisions, this has meant that power within Cabinet has been decentralised to some extent and that the ability of an individual minister to control decisions affecting his or her department has been diminished (Brooks 1989:141).

This waning of ministerial/departmental power is potentially a very significant facilitating factor in relations between federal organisations and interest groups. The diffusion of power within the executive arena has led to departments developing extra-governmental support from interest groups for their proposals (Adie and Thomas 1987). As early as 1975, a significant proportion of federal bureaucrats (45% according to Presthus 1975 in Kernaghan and Siegel 1991:443) acknowledged that they promoted the creation and maintenance of interest groups in order to facilitate the implementation of a policy or programme. Canadian environmental groups are one type of interest group reportedly subject to this manipulation by the federal government (1987).

However the role of senior officials is not to be dismissed, because although the era of the Ottawa 'mandarins' has passed, senior officials within the departmental bureaucracy and in particular deputy ministers and assistant deputy ministers interact frequently with cabinet ministers and officials in central agencies (Brooks 1989). The holders of these positions are universally acknowledged to have influence in shaping policy, but it is generally felt that the policy influence of senior bureaucrats has diminished (Brooks 1989).

Canada's parks agency provides a good example, where power regarding policy development resided with senior management in the 1950s, but the situation became more complex in the 1960s with the development of a planning unit. Up until that time, policy development was confined to the Deputy Minister and a small number of assistants from the Administrative Services Branch (Taylor 1991).

Contemporary evidence suggests that interest groups will now often aim their lobbying at professional and technical personnel within departments, rather than at senior executives and managers (e.g. Jackson, Jackson and Baxter-Moore 1986; Kernaghan and Siegel 1991). Of course too, there are practical problems in accessing ministers due to their workloads, and that interest groups have to choose their targets very carefully so as not to "spread their limited resources too thinly" (Kernaghan and Siegel 1991:445).

With changes in the distribution of power over time, with successive governments, interest groups that wish to remain effective lobbyists have had to refocus their targeting with the ebb and flow of power to different parts of the bureaucracy. As Jackson, Jackson and Baxter-Moore (1986:553) note, "no successful group fosters the illusion about power having a single address". This has particular implications for small interest groups who may not have the capacity to maintain multiple relationships.

6.2.3 Stakeholder legitimacy

Legitimacy or recognition is the key factor in interest groups' abilities to get their message through to the government. Legitimacy is therefore a key prerequisite for collaborative relations between government and interest groups. Brooks (1989:121) notes the importance of legitimacy in interest groups' relations with government, describing legitimacy as "policy-makers' acceptance of a group's right to be heard". Recognition or legitimacy can be considered to have been conferred when government canvasses interest group leaders for nomination to official bodies and/or calls group leaders into consultation on legislative and administrative matters (Kwavnick 1970 in Kernaghan and Siegel 1991:446).

The successful achievement of legitimacy has been demonstrated in a number of ways, in the Canadian context, for example by appointing the representatives of interest groups to permanent councils, temporary boards and commissions, or by consulting with organised interest groups during the preparation of a budget or legislation that may effect the group's membership. Coleman (1985) describes this as the growing "policy participation" role of Canadian interest groups, as distinct from their traditional "policy advocacy" role, and as an increasingly common goal among interest groups (also Babu and Siva 1999). It is observed, though, that the adoption of both roles may be conflictual and lead to internal tension within interest groups (Coleman 1985). The policy participation role favours widening of domains for a group, and the formation of relationships with other (sometimes divergent) groups. In contrast, the policy advocacy role is played more successfully when domains are narrow and the group can develop strategy and act independently of other (non-allied) interests. Coleman proposes a framework for considering the effectiveness of a group's policy participation, based upon the complexity of information that is required of them in the policy process, and the resource diversity of the group. Coleman (1985:432) summarises: "The pursuit of the policy participation role is more successful when ideology is suppressed in favour of technopragmatism and when issues are not politicised". However, notwithstanding these difficulties, some research on the composition of institutionalised advisory groups in Canada has indicated that the government is shifting from a stance of independence to interdependence with a broader range of interests (Filyk and Cote 1992).

A number of factors will influence whether or not a group is granted legitimacy by government administrators. The degree of experience or expertise and consequently the quality of information that they may contribute to the policy forum, is (as Coleman (1985) identified in his framework above) an important consideration and is ultimately linked to the structure and resourcing of the interest group. However, Wilson (1992) notes that even major national environmental organisations such as the Canadian Nature Federation (one of the interest groups in this study) cannot afford the sort of political initiatives routinely undertaken

by corporations – or by lobby groups with corporate support. A consequence of this is that more than often, environmental groups are not invited in from the periphery of the policy environment on to institutionalised advisory groups because they lack the resources to sustain “inner circle” policy work (Wilson 1992:120).

Another possible scenario for the granting of legitimacy is that the interest group may be the “sole client” of the federal policy making organisation, therefore being “indispensable” in the policy process (Kernaghan and Siegel 1991:447). In the case of Canadian environmental groups, both of the above factors have played a role: the provision of information has been important in allowing a certain degree of access, and groups have also been found to provide a useful conduit for government communications with a client constituency (Wilson 1992). Ultimately though, a significant part of legitimacy (and therefore policy participation) hinges on the policy-makers’ perception of whether an organised interest has the power to generate adverse public reaction to a policy choice (Brooks 1989). Bureaucrats are more likely to grant official recognition to groups that have the resources to influence the political futures of their ministers or of the government (Faulkner 1982 in Kernaghan and Siegel 1991:447). In Canada, however, despite environmental groups’ successes in placing environmental issues on the public agenda, these issues have not been sufficiently politicised to achieve the above effect (Sewell, Dearden and Dumbrell 1989).

As discussed above, this aspect is partly related to the degree of organisation or institutionalisation and resourcing that the interest groups possess. Thomson and Stanbury (1979) have argued that legitimate, wealthy, coherent interests, that have multiple sources of access to the Canadian legislative process, tend to be more influential than poor, diffuse interests. Work undertaken to quantify the access that business interests have to Canadian federal policy makers, certainly illustrates both the breadth and strength of access of this group (e.g. Gillies 1981 in Jackson, Jackson and Baxter-Moore 1986:536).

Furthermore, research into some environmental groups in Canada has revealed a deeply held suspicion or envy concerning the degree of access granted to business interests. There is some cynicism among environmental groups that involvement with federal government- organised forums is one way of keeping environmental groups busy while powerful business interests go directly to the political decision makers in Ottawa (Jamal 1999). The perception that business interests have greater access may be just as damaging as the reality, in terms of foregone relationship opportunities. That is not to deny that on occasion, environmental interests too have been able to form close relations with Ministers. This, however, appears to have been more sporadic and usually issue specific, such as during the South Moresby national park

proposal, when a close network formed between environmental group representatives, the Minister for the Environment and officials (Wilson 1992).

In relation to interest groups' communication with government departments, it appears that in Canada, relations between civil servants and interest groups are usually dominated by civil servants and that government agencies can withstand considerable pressure from the external environment (Pross 1975b). In communications with both the political and administrative arms of government, the interest groups that are more likely to flourish are those that are institutional, that is they have a stable membership, an extensive knowledge of those sectors of government that affect them and their clients, and possess organisational continuity and cohesion. In other words they have the knowledge, the resources and the longevity to influence government (Pross 1975b:21). The dominant types of institutional interest groups in this respect in Canada have been those that are formally constituted, representing key agricultural, economic and cultural interests (Doerr 1981). In Canada, business interests are among the oldest organised groups, with for example, the Canadian Manufacturers Association being formed in 1871 and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in 1925 (Guy 1995).⁴⁵ The power of interest groups is related to the length of time that groups have had to develop without major disruptions (Olson 1982 in Blais and McCallum 1986:43). Interest groups from these sectors, and the resource extraction industries have had a long and relatively stable institutional history, in comparison to environmental interests, which did not emerge in any stable form until the 1960s and 1970s. And since that time, environmental groups have been very susceptible to the vagaries of the economy. For example the recession of the 1990s took its toll on the environmental movement in Canada, with groups laying off staff (Guy 1995). Despite the success of Canadian environmental groups in raising the public consciousness, this has not been matched by an equivalent impact on government policy (Sewell, Deaden and Dumbrell 1989; Wilson 1992).

With respect to their susceptibility in this area, one prudent tactic available to small groups of similar interests, is to resource-share, and work co-operatively in their lobbying efforts. Co-operative lobbying, through formal or informal interest group alliances is also a means of demonstrating public interest in an issue, and has been an increasingly adopted approach (Salisbury 1983; Kernaghan and Siegel 1991). Such is the power of collaboration in this area of politics that it is proposed that the more coalitions that an organisation builds with other groups, the greater its success at influencing public decisions (Knoke 1990).

⁴⁵ Although note that most business interest groups have a long history of institutionalisation in Canada, some, such as the Chamber of Commerce being established at least one hundred years ago. The Chamber of Commerce has been an influential lobby group for tourism interests at the regional and park level (BBVTF 1996).

Indeed, most environmental goals in Canada are said to be pursued by coalitions of groups. The co-operative efforts of the “Group of Eight” environmental non-governmental organisations in Canada is a good example of this coalition building and resource sharing (Wilson 1992). The Group of Eight is an informal grouping that includes the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society and the Canadian Nature Federation, both environmental groups considered in this study. More recently, in 1999, the Green Budget Coalition was formed to lobby provincial and federal governments about funding for environmental concerns (CNF 2000a). This is a formal network of environmental groups, that includes the above two groups plus 13 more, the most significant of which in terms of protected area issues are Greenpeace, the World Wildlife Fund, the Sierra Club of Canada and the Sierra Legal Defence Fund.

Legitimacy alone, however well resourced the group, does not always indicate receptiveness on the part of governments to the views of interest groups. Often the positions adopted by interest groups may be diametrically opposite that of prevailing government policy. In such cases, or in cases where stakeholder legitimacy has not been secured, other non-conventional means of interacting with governments are sometimes resorted to. One potential avenue for “communication” that is open to interest groups, when all other avenues of communicating their viewpoint with government have been used to no avail, is that of litigation. There has been a substantial increase in the use of litigation as a technique of interest advancement (Salisbury 1983).

Interorganisational factors are seen to be a key component in interest groups’ abilities to litigate, and in their litigation strategies (Wasby 1983). Co-operation between groups facilitates information exchange and resource allocation to this end. However, institutional factors also come into play. Dwivedi and Carroll (1980) observe that the litigation avenue has traditionally been used to a lesser extent in Canada than in the USA because litigation is much easier for organisations under the American judicial system than it is in Canada. Because of this problem, Canadian environmentalist groups tend to be more oriented to education of the public and of decision makers, [communication?] and less to direct action. This characteristic of the Canadian judicial system is also noted by Eagles (1993), who points to the lack of case law regarding application of the National Parks Act in Canada. This is attributed to the excluding nature of the Canadian legal system where potential litigants are required to prove their standing in the eyes of the court in cases against the crown. Eagles notes that this virtually stops a citizen taking a Minister to court for compliance with the law.

It should be noted however, that in recent years (since about 1992), some Canadian environmental groups have established their standing before the court, and have been prepared on a number of occasions to challenge the federal government on points of law concerning the

management of federal lands. In these instances some successes have been gained (see Chapter Twelve). Skogstad and Kopas (1992) believe that such recent court decisions on environmental issues in Canada have influenced the way that the government relates to environmental groups, and that this is a factor (coupled with enhanced public concern) threatening traditionally closed (government and industry) environmental decision making processes.

Finally, it must be noted that the granting of legitimacy is not a one-way process. Interest groups are important in the legitimization of intentions and initiatives proposed by decision makers (Sewell, Dearden and Dumbrell 1989; Wilson 1992). Interest groups may potentially provide strong support within the public and policy domains for actions undertaken by a state agency – especially when the agency may face considerable opposition from other equal or more powerful state agencies. As Wilson (1992:116) notes, through granting support and legitimacy, interest groups can help in ‘bureaucratic turf wars’ of government agencies. Thus the ‘cultivation’ of interest groups by various ministries observed by Presthus above (1975 in Kernaghan and Siegel 1991:443).

6.2.4 Relations between interest groups

The history and structure of interest groups not only impacts on their ability to form relationships with governments, but also with other interest groups – particularly those with differing points of view. For example, it has been observed that environmental groups in Canada are loosely structured and “thinly institutionalised” (Westley and Vredenburg 1991:72). They often lack a developed internal hierarchy and a central authority. Such a structure inhibits collaboration, as environmental groups may have trouble convincing their own members of the benefits of collaborative accords with other interests, such as business. Whereas government and business can be relatively confident of the support of their constituencies, for environmental groups this is not necessarily the case:

As a result, agreements between environmentalists and business are often rejected by the environmental groups themselves, thereby reducing confidence in the process of collaboration (Westley and Vredenburg 1991:72).

6.2.5 The interest groups in this study - TIAC

As noted in Chapter Four, this study considers two types of interest group: those allied with the tourism industry, and those with an environmental preservation mandate. Although these groups are described in detail in following chapters, they are briefly introduced at this convenient point, and characterised terms of the above frameworks.

The first category is represented by the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC). TIAC is an established producer interest group, and using Pross's (1975b) framework, could be described as an institutional pressure group. It has its own paid executive, and is represented by a well established system of branches at the federal and provincial/territorial level. The organisation has a broad and stable membership that includes many members of the elite - even previous federal ministers. They are well resourced and familiar with negotiating with senior members of the civil service and politicians at all levels. TIAC fits Pross's (1975b) framework by communicating with government primarily in an access-oriented way, the organisation having access to senior politicians and civil servants (TIAC interview 1). Furthermore, they have also managed to penetrate the public establishment as illustrated by many TIAC members being represented on the board and committees of the Canadian Tourism Commission. An illustration of the way that a TIAC lobbyist typically operates comes from the report of the Banff Bow Valley Task Force (1996). The report along with other historical parks data notes the lack of consistency in application of policy regarding tourism development in National Parks. This has been partly attributed to the ability of tourism stakeholders to influence the political system at a high enough level to be effective. This is known as the "\$139 solution" - the cost of a flight from Calgary to Ottawa to lobby the minister (BBVTF 1996).

However, despite evidence to suggest that tourism interests are reasonably well organised, there is, or at least *was* a self perception on the part of the industry that it could be a more effective lobbyist. In a 1985 policy document "Tourism Tomorrow - Towards a Canadian Tourism Strategy" (Minister of State for Tourism 1985:57), it is bemoaned that "for the most part, the tourism industry has found it difficult to organise itself as an effective lobby". Thus as noted above, the granting of legitimacy does not necessarily lead to positive policy outcomes for interest groups.

6.2.6 CNF and CPAWS as examples of interest groups

The environmental pressure groups in this study are represented by the Canadian Nature Federation (CNF) and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS). Sewell, Dearden and Dumbrell (1989) classify CPAWS as being an institutional group, and using Pross's (1975b) framework, both of the above groups are institutionalised but not to the extent of TIAC. It is also unlikely that they have the degree of resources or connections that TIAC does, this being illustrated by their small number of paid staff, the emphasis on volunteer work, their limited budgets, reliance on donations, and often precarious financial positions. Indeed, doubt has been cast on the ability of Canadian environmental groups, because of their lack of organisational capability or resources, to compete with professionally based lobbies such as tourism, in terms of influencing national parks' management (Green 1979).

One analysis describes the Canadian environmental movement as weak and lacking in sophistication (in comparison to its American counterpart) (Dwivedi and Carroll 1980:319). They are said to be more likely to adopt non-confrontational approaches partly because of the potential difficulties provided by the Canadian legal system (Dwivedi and Carroll 1980). However, to some extent this has changed over recent years, as indicated by the recent success of litigation undertaken by CPAWS concerning the Sunshine ski area, Banff National Park, evidence that the legal avenue *is* open on occasion (Vancouver Sun 1996).

6.3 The federal influence

In a federal state such as Canada, legislative authority over certain issues may be divided between two levels of government. Similarly, interest groups may themselves also mirror the federal arrangement in the way that they operate (for a thorough discussion on the influence of federalism on interest groups, see Dawson (1975) and Thorburn (1985)). Consequently, federalism influences the way in which the government relates to interest groups. Canadian federalism is characterised by a high degree of administrative co-operation and executive interaction between the federal and provincial states. As Brooks (1989) observes: "Federal-provincial relations in Canada involve a continuous and multi-levelled process of consultation and bargaining between policy-makers representing Ottawa and the provinces" (Brooks 1989:135).

Although this study addresses relationships with and within the federal government, the dynamic between the federal government and provincial and territorial governments must be considered. This is especially the case when the allocation of use of crown lands is considered, as provincial and territorial governments are key players in the matter of establishment of national parks – this has been the case since the transferral of control of unallocated Crown land to the provinces was completed in 1930 (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990).

Thus, considering the potential significance of the provinces on the national park – tourism domain, there has been little work undertaken on federal-provincial relations and their impact in this area. However, Hall and Jenkins (1995b) in their analysis of federal tourism policy in Canada, note that federal relations to the provincial levels are not at all clear, and that political and regional boundaries have often stifled co-ordination. However, generally the federal-provincial link is less of an issue with established national parks, as the management of these parks is unilaterally a federal responsibility. This contrasts with the complex situation of wider environmental policy where there is considerable jurisdictional division (Brown 1992) and where federal concerns for the protection of the environment have the potential to jeopardise provincial priorities for resource development (Skogstad and Kopas 1992). In these

circumstances, the dominance of the resource industries has continued to exert considerable leverage over provincial resource and environment policies. These resource industries are taken to include the traditional areas of forestry, oil, mining etc, but with the increasing significance of tourism as a tool of regional economic development, will this industry be afforded similar protection by the provinces? There have certainly been examples where provinces have adopted stances counter to the federal government, by lobbying strongly for continued access and development in existing national parks within their areas of jurisdiction (e.g. Lothian 1977; Bella 1987; CPAWS 1999b). The establishment of new parks has also resulted on occasion in considerable conflict between federal and provincial governments (Sewell, Dearden and Dumbrell 1989).

Furthermore, the changing nature of the federal-provincial relationship has been identified as a significant factor in the operationalisation of sustainable development in Canada. In particular, the quest for greater decentralisation from Quebec and the western provinces (as discussed in Chapter Five) has impacted on the federal government's approach to resource and environment issues (Paehlke 2000), and potentially on relations in this domain.

6.4 Sustainability and interorganisational relations

In Chapter Two the relationship between sustainability and co-operation or co-ordination was discussed. It was demonstrated that a significant component of sustainable development is co-operation and co-ordination of efforts, and that sustainable development implies or relies upon an open and inclusive policy domain. It would follow then that efforts in Canada towards sustainable development necessitate developments in the way that stakeholders interact or relate to one another, and therefore in the way that policy is made.

Immediately prior to the period when sustainable development gained credence in Canada, in the late 1980s, it was apparent that integrated planning, at least for sustainable land resource use, was more the exception than the rule. Petch (n.d. in Manning 1987:27) noted at the time that integrated resource planning was a relatively new phenomenon, and that for two decades, most jurisdictions had undertaken planning of their own sectoral requirements with a limited perspective. Indeed, inherent contradictions between some sectoral objectives and long-term conservation concerns, continued to hinder planning for multisectoral sustainability. The exception to this, at the federal level, was when the Department of Regional Economic Expansion had charge of all federal regional development planning, when some level of broader intersectoral planning was undertaken (Manning 1987).

Since then, however, the dispersal of responsibility for development initiatives to sectoral departments has reduced the federal ability to undertake integrated resource planning:

Departmental structures remain aimed at specific sectoral production requirements...Sectoral planning still occurs often with little specific reference to the aims and objectives of other sectors..much remains to be done to bring to fruition the type of co-ordinated issue-oriented response that would most effectively support sustainable land-resource use (Manning 1987:34).

A 1987 report for the Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers put forward the idea of multi-stakeholder round tables for sustainability planning (BCRTEE 1994). Round tables were seen as “a permanent forum on which all sectors can meet to co-operate on preventative strategies and to influence planning” (BCRTEE 1994:5). Subsequently, round tables were formed at the national level and in all provinces and territories, and also began to appear in individual communities. Starke (1990 in BCRTEE 1994:5) in a review of the international impact of the Brundtland report commented that these initiatives in Canada “provide one of the few examples of lateral thinking on institutions since *Our Common Future* was published”. Canada’s Green Plan also stresses the value of partnerships and co-ordination in general. The role of ENGOs is recognised as important, and the Green Plan proposes encouraging their role in two ways – through funding, and through consultation (Environment Canada 1990).

However, despite the above initiatives, as recently as 1996, relationship-based barriers to the implementation of sustainable development have been identified by researchers in Canada (Francis and Lerner 1996).

6.5 Trends in interorganisational relations – a changing context

The application of interorganisational theory to the above developments, contributes to our understanding of the context for relationships within the study domain. For much of the last century, relationships involving some component of the Canadian federal government, were enacted in a relatively informal manner – this applies to both internal and external relations. The rise of participatory democracy in the 1960s, however, witnessed an increase in the number of potential participants in numerous policy domains throughout the Canadian political system. While this had the potential to bring more information to policy domains, and thus contribute to more informed policy development, it also had the potential to disturb the operation of many policy domains that had been functioning quite happily. The increase in the number of domain members, or potential members brought with it problems of domain consensus, and coincidence of values (or lack of) became a problem. This is evidenced for example, by the domain consensus that existed between the federal government and business interests, who up until the 1960s had a shared (and unchallenged) goal of economic development. With the rise of social and environmental movements demanding greater

inclusion in policy processes, the reign of traditional values at the exclusion of others, was challenged.

This period then could also be characterised as a time when many interest groups struggled for stakeholder legitimacy within *unorganised* domains. Current domain members questioned the legitimacy of these rising interests, along with the value of forming co-operative relationships with them.

By the late 1960s, the increase in the number of potential domain members, the increase in the size of government and the complexity of issues contributed to the federal government taking action to address some of the above problems. Policy and administrative reform over this time provided for increased stability, standardisation and formalisation of relationships. Structures and systems were developed to enhance relationships between sectors of the federal government, and between the government and interest groups. This for example, improved relations between the federal government and business, who although sharing values over the preceding period, had witnessed a deterioration of their relationship through inadequate co-ordinating mechanisms. An increased flow of information along those linkages also potentially facilitated relationships by allowing for a greater mutual awareness between organisations.

Overall then, the critical contingency (Oliver 1990) for relationship formation over this (late 1960s) period, from the federal government viewpoint was increasingly that of *necessity*: federal organisations established relationships, because of the mandate of the federal government – especially from the increasingly powerful central agencies. From the interest groups' viewpoint, the critical contingencies in operation were *reciprocity* and *assymetry* i.e. where interests were seeking to either facilitate the exchange of resources, or exert control over the access to resources. Over this period, some relationships between federal organisations and interest groups, where there was a coincidence of values, developed a strong clientele relationship based upon the exchange of resources for mutual benefit (e.g. information exchanged for input into policy). Other relationships where this coincidence of values was not quite so apparent were characterised by interest groups seeking greater control of resources through non-co-operative means. These typically included media-oriented actions, or access-oriented actions for those interests more politically connected.

This situation continued through the 1980s over which time ongoing developments have also provided further incentive for relationship formation. Over that time, administrative reforms have seen power ebb away from departmental heads and Ministers towards the central agencies such as the Treasury Board. This has in theory limited the effectiveness of access-

oriented interests, who must now rely more heavily upon co-operative multi-stakeholder structures and processes.

From the late 1980s and particularly in the 1990s, the federal government has placed a greater emphasis on partnership formation to meet fiscal objectives. Retreat of the federal government characterised by downsizing, reduced budgets and increased emphasis on revenue generation has witnessed again the manifestation of the critical contingency of *necessity* for relationship formation. As in the 1960s and 1970s, centrally imposed conditions have dictated that federal organisations seek relationships. These relationships are also sought in order to improve the organisations' *efficiency* (to reduce costs of service delivery) and *stability* in an uncertain funding environment.

From the point of view of interest groups involved in these relationships, gains are made in terms of enhanced access and involvement in policy development, and also through the enhanced *legitimacy* resulting from involvement with nationally recognised structures and forums comprising the domains. Ironically, despite vast improvements in stakeholder legitimacy and the degree of structured co-operation apparent in many domains, some interests have increasingly referred to non-co-operative means of achieving policy gains, for example, litigation.

Finally, the adoption of sustainable development as a principle for planning in Canada has also facilitated interorganisational relationships over recent years. This has occurred through policy outputs such as the Green Plan, that have stressed the value of partnerships and co-ordination. The Green Plan has also assisted in domain organisation through recognising the role of NGOs and thus granting them some legitimacy within the policy process.

6.5.1 Summary

This chapter has provided a general background to the development of interorganisational relations in the Canadian context, and particularly where the federal government is involved in those relationships. Perhaps one of the most significant points to emerge from this discussion is that the context for certain interorganisational relations has altered substantially over time. A consideration of these changes is particularly relevant to a study of the specific interorganisational relationships existing in the national parks – tourism policy domain.

With respect to this study, the most significant changes have been developments in the relationship between government and environmental groups. To some extent this has impacted upon the traditionally strong government – business relations that have existed in this arena and in many other sectors. Although the latter relationship is said to have waned,

the ramifications of late 20th century monetarist policies may have helped facilitate improved relations in this area, with a perceived greater role for the private sector now apparent. A recent federal initiative of note is the primarily fiscally-driven call for partnerships with the private sector. There is some empirical evidence, however, that certain factors, such as inadequate resourcing, may be inhibiting these relationships.

A discussion of interorganisational relations in Canada is also apposite to any discussion on sustainable development in that country. The Canadian 'brand' of sustainable development has stressed the value of partnerships and the role of interests such as environmental groups. However, relationship-based barriers to the operationalisation of sustainable development have been identified recently.

The next chapter will move away from the conceptual and institutional issues relating to sustainable tourism and interorganisational relations, and provide an overview of the Canadian tourism industry, focusing upon nature tourism and the role that protected areas and national parks in particular, play within the industry. The historical development of the parks system and of park tourism will be outlined and the impacts of tourism within national parks discussed.

Chapter 7: Tourism and national park tourism in Canada

7.1 Introduction to tourism in Canada

Canada has long been an important tourist destination in world terms. Historically it has consistently ranked within the top dozen countries in the world for tourist arrivals. International tourist arrivals for 1996 were 17.3 million, a market share of just under 3% of the world total, and in financial terms, worth US\$8.7 billion (WTO 1997). Tourism is also a significant employer of Canadians, 1.2 million people or 9.7% of the Canadian workforce being employed in the tourism and tourism-related industries. According to most government and travel industry sources, there are at least 60,000 tourism businesses across the country (EIU 1996).

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s Canada was one of the world's top tourism destinations and although the recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s had a substantial effect on tourism in Canada, tourism earnings still remained a significant part of the Canadian economy even at the height of the recession. In 1990, international tourism ranked fourth among Canada's export industries (EIU 1996). By 1992, tourism earned more than the combined revenues from agriculture, mining, forestry and fisheries, all of which have historically been considered the mainstays of an economy dominated by the primary sector (Buchanan 1994). Total tourism spending in Canada for 1995 was \$41.8 billion, representing approximately 4% of the gross domestic product. Of tourist spending in 1996, international tourist receipts accounted for \$12.1 billion.⁴⁶

However, like many developed northern nations, Canada is faced with a "structural tourism deficit" due to its proximity to a major international tourism destination, the United States, and because of climatic factors (CTC interview 5). For example, in 1994, almost 15 million Canadians travelled south to the U.S. while fewer than 13 million Americans travelled in the opposite direction (EIU 1996). Substantial Canadian outbound spending for 1996 resulted in an international travel deficit of \$3.0 billion (CTC 1997c). But despite the continuing travel deficit, international tourism receipts continue to grow, rising, for example by 11% between 1993 and 1994.

International tourist spending in Canada is strongly dominated by visitors from the United States, who in 1997 spent a total of \$9.7 billion (17.3 million trips), compared to total

⁴⁶ All sums in this chapter are quoted in Canadian dollars (unless otherwise stated), and at the time of writing CAN\$1=approx. NZD\$1.20.

spending by visitors from Europe of \$2.3 billion (2.3 million trips) and by visitors from Asia of \$1.6 billion (1.5 million trips) (CTC 1997a).

However, domestic tourism is by far the biggest segment of Canada's travel industry, currently representing approximately 75% of total tourism spending in Canada. Yet there are concerns within the industry that growth in domestic tourism has lagged behind that of international tourism. From 1986 to 1996, domestic receipts have increased on average 5.6% per year, while international receipts increased by 7.3% per year on average (CTC 1997a).

7.1.1 Growth forecasts

While actual growth in arrivals has risen only slowly (approximately 2.3% per annum on average from 1990 to 1996), total tourism earnings have risen substantially, with an increase of 8.9% between 1995 and 1996, and an average increase in earnings of 8.8% per annum from 1985 to 1996 (CTC 1997a).

The WTO forecast of growth in international tourism arrivals is approximately 4% per annum between 2000 and 2010. Historically, international travel receipts have increased at nearly double the rate of arrivals, therefore if Canada maintains its market share of tourist arrivals, it will generate incremental revenues of \$3.6 billion by the year 2000 and \$8.5 billion by the year 2005 (CTC 1997a).

While these earnings must be offset against the expected growth in Canadian outbound travel, this is not expected to grow as fast, with travel expenditures expected to increase by about 2.5% per annum until 2005. This will result in increased expenditures of \$2.6 billion by 2000 and \$3.3 billion by 2005. Hence a positive balance is expected in Canada's travel account by the year 2002 (CTC 1997a).

Note that these forecasts are heavily dependent upon the Canadian currency exchange rates, as past research has shown that a significant relationship exists, particularly with the US currency (CTC 1997a).

7.1.2 Significance of nature based tourism

A 1997 report by the Canadian Tourism Commission identifies "adventure travel" and "ecotourism" as the fastest growing sector of the Canadian travel industry (CTC 1997b). The report cites a 1993 survey by Statistics Canada that shows that adventure travel "outperformed the economy in all regions of the country, creating revenues that exceeded \$165 million" (Statistics Canada 1993 in CTC 1997b:3).

While adventure tourism is broadly interpreted in the above context, the Canadian Tourism Commission is more precise in its assessment of the value of heritage tourism. They describe the 169 national parks and national historic sites across the country as a “cornerstone of Canadian tourism”, at present receiving about 26 million person visits per year, and contributing \$2 billion to the economy (CTC 1997c).⁴⁷

Of the trips made to Canada by visitors from the United States and overseas, 37-40 percent respectively include a visit to a national park or national historic site, or a similar heritage related activity (Parks Canada 1995b). When domestic tourists are also considered, Parks Canada have indicated that 25-30 percent of all tourists in Canada include some aspect of heritage in their trip, and that 65% of Michelin’s 3 star attractions in Canada are managed or supported by the Department of Canadian Heritage (Parks Canada’s parent department) (Parks Canada 1995b). An Angus Reid survey in 1993 indicated that almost one-third of Canadians visited a national park in that year (Parks Canada 1995c). Further to this, an Environics Poll of December 1994 indicated that National Parks and National Historic Sites rank only behind the flag and national anthem as symbols of Canada (Parks Canada 1995a). Hence the role of national parks as key images in federal, provincial and regional tourism portfolios. Parks Canada have estimated the combined economic impact on Canada’s GDP of visitor and government expenditures related to national parks and historic sites to be \$1.25 billion, involving 30,000 person years of employment. They describe national parks and national historic sites as “focal points for tourism, a major private sector employer and one of the fastest growth areas in Canada” (Parks Canada 1995a:11).

Similarly, a 1983 Parks Canada paper evaluating the economic impact of Parks Canada and parks visitor expenditures, estimated that every dollar spent by Parks Canada results in an increase of \$2.96 in value added to the Canadian economy.⁴⁸ Government revenue generated by the direct, indirect and induced effects of the parks programme and visitors totalled \$250 million. Thus one dollar of Parks Canada spending, together with proportionate spending by visitors, generated 98 cents. The spending by the 1.6 million foreign visitors that was directly attributable to visits to national parks and national historic sites totalled \$36 million in 1981-82 (Parks Canada 1983). A more recent analysis of the economic benefits of Parks Canada activities, puts expenditures attributable to visits to national parks and national historic sites by international visitors to be \$275 million (Parks Canada 1995b).

⁴⁷ The description of heritage tourism does not distinguish between cultural and natural heritage.

⁴⁸ This assumes that Parks Canada is the instigator of visitor spending

Indeed the strategic importance of Canada's natural heritage, and consequently, of its national parks, to the Canadian tourism industry has been recognised from the infancy of the industry, to the current day.

7.2 Canada's national parks

This section will discuss the birth and growth of tourism in Canada's national parks. The early history of the national parks has had a significant impact on their subsequent development (Rounthwaite 1982). Indeed, many of the issues facing park administrators today in terms of the preservation versus use debate, can be traced directly to the policies adopted in the formative years of the parks system. Consequently, the policies adopted and the forces leading to them are discussed in detail.

7.2.1 Banff and the birth of park tourism

The first national park in Canada was created in 1885. In a way, the birth of the national park system in Canada brought about the birth of the tourist industry. When discussing the birth and evolution of national parks and tourism in Canada, a discussion of the role of Banff National Park is unavoidable, as it has always played such a prominent role in the evolution of parks management and tourism policy. As this thesis progresses, it will become evident that Banff is every bit as important today in the tourism/preservation debate as it was one hundred years ago.

In 1870, the Canadian Government promised a transcontinental railway linking British Columbia to the rest of Canada, in return for British Columbia's agreement to enter the confederation. The rail link was completed across the Rocky Mountains in 1885, but at such a cost that the company responsible, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), immediately began examining every possible means of making money to reduce its enormous debt load and to pay its heavy operating costs (Hart 1983). Their goal was helped by the discovery in 1883 by two railway construction workers, of thermal springs at Banff. The commercial value of thermal water was well known to North Americans, for example at the Hot Springs Reservation in Arkansas, and also at Yellowstone, which had been declared a national park in 1872.

The General Manager of CPR was one William Cornelius Van Horne, who realised the potential of the hot springs and the Rocky Mountain scenery for attracting tourists. His attitude was "if we can't export the scenery, we'll import the tourists" (Hart 1983:11). It was a philosophy of "capitalising the scenery" (Hart 1983:11). In fact the CPR's tourism

promotion of Canada was very much focused on the scenic attractions of the western mountains.

7.2.2 Early co-operation between private and public sector

One of the main thrusts of the CPR tourist policy was to co-operate with the federal government over the development of national parks. Hart (1983) credits van Horne as suggesting the creation of a national park at Banff in 1883. However, Marty (1984) identifies Sir Sandford Fleming, the Engineer in Chief of the CPR as putting the first proposal for a National Park. No matter, the significant point is that the proposal appeared to come from within the company, rather than the federal government. One must keep in mind that CPR was competing for tourists with railway companies from below the border in the United States, a nation that had a decade before, announced the creation of the world's first national park, at Yellowstone. Van Horne was undoubtedly familiar with the Northern Pacific Railways promotion of Yellowstone National Park to attract tourists to its line.

CPR's consequent support for the creation of a reservation around the recently discovered hot springs on Sulphur Mountain at Banff in 1885 was perhaps the first example of a Canadian industry supporting conservation, and the first major example of co-operation between the private sector and the public sector in the protection of natural resources. In 1885 the Government of Canada passed an Order-in Council declaring an area of approximately 10 square miles around the springs to be protected from sale, thus creating the nucleus of what was to become Banff National Park (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990).

7.2.3 The role of the federal government

The federal government of the time, lead by Prime Minister J. A. Macdonald, was also certainly aware of the economic potential of the scenic attractions of the newly created national park. Macdonald expressed the government's interest in the following manner:

I do not suppose in any portion of the world there can be found a spot, taken altogether, which combines so many attractions and which promises in as great a degree not only large *pecuniary* [emphasis added] advantage to the Dominion, but much prestige to the whole country by attracting the population not only of this continent but of Europe, to this place (Hart 1983:55)

As Hart (1983) notes, the idea of preserving the wilderness for its own sake was as yet somewhat in the future for the government of Canada. Prime Minister Macdonald's aim to "recoup the treasury" (Marty 1984:61) was overt, and the government was thus motivated by the same ideals as those that had spurred van Horne and the CPR into action: money and prestige. On the one hand, the government was interested in opening up the west to settlement

and in developing the natural resources found there. On the other hand the CPR had a vested interest in promoting use of its newly completed line, which meant the promotion of settlement, increasing revenue to the railroad and pushing up the value of CPR's extensive land grants (Rounthwaite 1982).

An act of parliament created the Rocky Mountains Park (later to become Banff National Park) in June 1887.⁴⁹ Thus, Canada's first national park was established, and from motives far removed from altruism, but rather, as Marty notes, in an atmosphere of "fortune hunting" (Marty 1984:44).

As Eidsvik and Henwood (1990) note, the origin of Canada's national park system is ironically linked to expansionist national economic policies that encouraged the exploitation of Canada's natural resources. It was also linked to the emerging federal-provincial dynamic involving development as a means of appeasing western interests. However, the establishment of a national park was entirely consistent with the theme of utilising the new found wealth of the west for the benefit of the nation. As Prime Minister Macdonald said, "it was of great importance that all this section of country should be brought at once into usefulness", thus the purpose of this new park was clearly oriented toward tourism and recreation (Marty 1984:61). However, Macdonald's interest in recouping the treasury was to haunt park superintendents for many years (Marty 1984).

7.2.4 Influence of the conservation movement

Although Canada's first national park was in effect brought about through the co-operative effort of the federal government and the CPR, for primarily pecuniary reasons, this is not to belittle the influence of the conservation movement of the time. In the United States, over the latter part of the 19th century, conservationists such as John Muir were highly influential in changing public opinion about the need for protecting nature in areas such as national parks. Canada too had its own versions of Muir, who attempted to influence public thinking in the same way. The preservationist ideas of John Muir, and the multi-use philosophies of Gifford Pinchot (Director of the U.S Forest Service (1898-1910) and leading environmental advocate) influenced Canadian conservation leaders such as James Harkin, who became the first director of the National Park Branch in Canada (Nelson 1984).

At the beginning of the parks movement, both conservation and use were of concern in Canada, but in different ways than today (Nelson 1984). Initially, the conservation stress was on hot springs and other geologic features, just as it was in Yellowstone. Conservation

⁴⁹ The Rocky Mountain Parks Act 1887.

concerns soon expanded, however, to include the protection of forest and wildlife. With changes in scientific and public understanding, the concept of conservation expanded again from protection of some landforms, plants and animals, to consider entire ecosystems and other concerns (Nelson 1984).

Another important institutional development for conservation in the early days of the national park movement, was the Conservation Commission, which was active from 1910 to 1922. The Commission helped shape Canada's responses to many other conservation issues, and thus helped to reinforce the thrust for national parks (Nelson 1984).

By the turn of the century there was an urban middle class enthusiasm for nature, and "even the philistines in the government could be convinced of the commercial potential of parks as tourist attractions" (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990:25). Significantly, however, at this time, the role of parks was well defined, at least in the federal government's view, as one of utility, in primarily providing tourism revenue.

7.2.5 Further co-operation between the Canadian Pacific Railways and the federal government

Illustrative of the close business-government relations discussed in the previous chapter, further co-operation between the federal government and the CPR in the period immediately after the creation of the national park at Banff was evidenced by the creation of other parks, namely Yoho and Glacier National Parks. Over this period, the Government actually sought advice from the CPR on the siting of parks. Marty (1984) describes how the CPR was instrumental in identifying park terrain that might otherwise have been assigned totally to logging or mining. The then Superintendent of Mines in the Department of the Interior commented:

... the public is very greatly indebted to Mr Van Horne and through him the CPR for their hearty co-operation in any reservations made for scenic effect or pleasure resorts. Without that co-operation Canada's efforts would not have been anything like as successful as they have been (Rounthwaite 1982:46).

In Banff, the CPR and the federal government co-operated in the provision of facilities and services: the federal government provided the facilities and CPR provided the services. This degree of co-operation, however, was restricted to Banff, the showpiece of the government, as there were precious little government funds to spare for developments in other parks (Rounthwaite 1982).

7.2.6 The role of parks in CPR's tourism venture

The significance of the mountain scenery and parks to the CPR's tourism operations at the time is illustrated by promotional material released by the company from the 1890s, which featured the Rocky Mountains strongly. Further to this, the title of a 1910 brochure produced by the company, "Eastern Tours through the Canadian Pacific Rockies" (CPR 1910), is suggestive not only of the significance of the Rockies to the company, but also of some confusion between the government and the company over the true 'ownership' of the scenery. In fact the government did little to claim public ownership or responsibility for the parks, not producing any promotional material of its own on the parks until after the turn of the century, in 1904 (Hart 1983). It was only the interest and expenditure of the CPR that kept Banff and other park reserves in the public eye (Lothian 1987).

The Government and the CPR continued this spirit of co-operation in developing and promoting the parks for many years. This partnership was completely natural in the absence of any federal or provincial tourism organisations. The role of a national tourism organisation, or tourism ministry, in promoting the benefits of tourism and advocating the rights of the tourism industry as is seen today was to all intents and purposes played by the CPR. In return for services provided, the government afforded a "certain amount of protection for the company" in the way of securing sites for future developments, for example at the lucrative Lake Louise site (Hart 1983:89). Development of the park for tourists involved creating roads and facilities and generally making the park accessible. The CPR also advocated the creation of roads to and through parks, to assist them in their land sales along the rail corridor, by making these lands more readily accessible. Indeed, the government of the day did not appear to regard virgin wilderness as an important component of a national park. Apart from the development of roads for tourism, the park also permitted other industry in the form of mining and forestry, which persisted regardless of early objections from conservationists.

By 1915, 90,000 tourists had visited Rocky Mountain Park. At this time, a report to the federal government of the value of the park to the government in purely economic terms (\$16,000,000 in foreign exchange), led to a commitment of federal funds for a promotional campaign that complemented the CPR's own campaign (Hart 1983).

By the 1920s, other rail companies were involved in similar promotions of other parks, for example, the Grand Trunk Pacific began to promote Jasper National Park in 1921, leading to some competition for tourists with the CPR (Hart 1983).

7.3 Growth of the park system

An era of railway tourism began with the development of the Banff Springs Hotel, and this was to have an impact on the future growth of the park system. As Eidsvik and Henwood (1990) note, railway construction was to have an important role in the establishment of Glacier and Yoho National Parks in 1886 and Jasper National Park in 1907.

This is not to say that all national parks were the products of railway company developments. In fact the protection of scenic attractions that were threatened by resource development played an important role in national park establishment. In this way, Waterton Lakes National Park in 1895 and Mount Revelstoke National Park in 1914 were established (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990). Similarly, other parks were created on the urging of local politicians who realised their potential value in job creation and stimulating local economies. The creation of Georgian Bay Islands National Park and Cape Breton Highlands National Park in 1936 are examples of this (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990). Further to this, some national parks were created specifically for the protection of wildlife or representative landscapes, examples being Elk Island National Park and Wood Buffalo National Park, created in 1913 and 1922 respectively (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990). Foster (1978 in Nelson 1984:5) cites the important role that the “wildlife group”, that had developed within the National Parks Branch, played in promoting the establishment of national parks primarily intended for the protection of threatened wildlife. Wood Buffalo National Park is an example of such action.^{50 51}

Between 1887 and 1930, fourteen national parks were created in Canada, eleven of which were located in the western provinces. During the 1930s, agricultural and economic failure in relatively more depressed but scenic areas such as the Maritimes led to the creation of new parks such as the Bay of Fundy National Park, which was largely intended as a tourist attraction (Nelson 1984). From 1930 to 1968, there was somewhat of a “dry spell” with only four parks being created. Eidsvik and Henwood (1990) attribute this to three factors: the depression; the Second World War; and the transfer of ownership of natural resources from the federal government to the provincial governments in 1930. Creation of national parks now required the full co-operation of provincial governments, and because regional objectives were not always consistent with national objectives, the process of forming new parks was slowed down somewhat (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990).

⁵⁰ Although Marsh (1983) writes that the creation of Prince Albert National Park in 1927 was the first example of preserving a representative portion of a key Canadian ecosystem.

⁵¹ The wildlife group evolved into the Canadian Wildlife Service. In the early 1970s, the service was transferred to the Department of the Environment and separated from the National Parks Branch in the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. This ended a symbiotic relationship that had begun in the early 1900s (Foster 1978 in Nelson 1984:9)

In 1968, Canada held its first conference on national parks and in recognition of the slow pace of growth of the park system, the conference called for the establishment of more national parks and the development of a more integrated system of national parks representing the biological and geographic diversity of Canada (Eidsvik and Henwood 1990). Between 1968 and 1979, ten new national parks were created, doubling the total area of national parks and balancing the distribution of parks such that at last each province and territory had at least one national park. The adoption of a systems approach to the creation of new parks, based on the division of Canada into thirty-nine terrestrial natural regions was an important development of the 1970s. The goal was to establish a national park within each region, a goal that remains current and as yet unrealised. As the then Minister responsible for national parks, Jean Chretien wrote in 1971:

One method of accommodating the increasing demand [on parks] without endangering or destroying the wilderness values is to create new parks. This also serves another purpose – that of diversifying our system which is not truly representative of the Canadian landscape (NPPAC 1971).

During Chretien's four year ministership, ten new national parks were established.

7.3.1 The current protected area system

At the time of writing, there are 38 national parks in Canada, with a total area of approximately 225,000 km² (see Figure 7.1 below). Twenty-two of the 39 natural regions are now considered adequately represented in the park system. There are currently further investigations underway for national parks in 9 additional regions (Parks Canada 1995b).

The system of national parks is complemented by a well-established system of provincial parks, dating from the 1890s. The provincial park system of Ontario is the oldest in Canada, having begun with the establishment of Algonquin Provincial Park in 1893. In the 1930s, following the transfer of the control of natural resources to the provincial governments, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba also began a programme of establishing provincial parks.⁵² The provincial parks play a significant role in the protection of natural ecosystems in Canada. For example, the provincial park system of British Columbia included 367 parks in 1990, totalling an area of nearly 50,000km². While provincially administered, many provincial parks are recognised as nationally and internationally significant. Dinosaur Provincial Park in Alberta for example has been declared a World Heritage Site.

In addition to national and provincial parks, there is a system of federally administered migratory bird sanctuaries and national wildlife areas created under the Canadian Wildlife Act

⁵² The provincial park systems expanded rapidly from the mid 1970s. In Ontario, for example, the number of parks increased from approximately twenty in 1960 to about one hundred and twenty by the mid 1970s (Priddle et al 1982 in Nelson 1984).

CANADA

NATIONAL PARKS AND NATIONAL PARK RESERVES OF CANADA



Fig 7.1: The national parks of Canada

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and administered by the Canadian Wildlife Service. There are over one hundred migratory bird sanctuaries and forty-five national wildlife areas, covering together approximately 15,000km². Collectively, the federal, provincial and territorial protected areas covered an area of approximately 550,000km² in 1990, or about 5.5% of Canada's landmass (Parks Canada 1995b).

7.4 Growth of tourism in the parks

As outlined above, tourism in the national parks of Canada really began with Banff in the 1880s. This was in effect a "joint venture" in tourism between the federal government and the CPR. The government acted to create the reserve on the urging of private concerns (CPR) but ultimately in the national economic interest. The national parks of Canada that were created out of this motivation to utilise the parks, and those that were created later more so for environmental reasons, remain one of the key attractions of the Canadian tourism industry. Parks Canada attendance figures highlight the significance of national parks to the tourism industry with attendance for 1999-99 totalling 15 million person visits (CTC 2001).

Reliable and consistent national park attendance figures are available from 1955 onwards, and illustrate an overall trend of consistent increase of park visitor use of the growing park system. Use of the entire national park and national historic site system grew from 3 million visits in 1955 to 14 million by 1970, and then to over 20 million by 1990 (Parks Canada 1995b).

Visits to national parks increased dramatically during the 1950s and 1960s. This was associated with the large scale economic development that was occurring in Canada, the United States and other western countries at the time. These changes led to increased income, more leisure time, and a rising demand for recreation and tourism, which resulted in more visits to sites such as national parks. This is demonstrated, for example, by the number of visits to the four mountain parks of Banff, Jasper, Yoho and Kootenay, which increased from 680,000 in 1950-51 to 3.5 million in 1964-65 (Parks Canada 1995b). For the overall park system, visits in 1960-61 totalled 4.9 million, but this nearly doubled to 9 million by 1964-65. One of the reasons for this was road development, which had a huge impact on park visitor numbers. For example in 1960, Glacier National Park in British Columbia had 450 visits, and then just two years later, with the opening of the Trans Canada highway, 450,000 visits. Within this overall period of growth, naturally there were fluctuations in visitor numbers. Parks Canada has identified weather factors as being the major source of visitor number fluctuations. During the 1980s there was a period of "stagnation and downturn" identified

with lower growth of visitor numbers, but this has been followed more recently by an upward trend in the 1990s (Parks Canada 1995b).⁵³

For national parks alone, visitor use increased from a national total of 12.35 million person visits in 1988-89 to a peak of 15.4 million in 1994-95, to the current 14.5 million in 1996-97 (Parks Canada 1997a)⁵⁴. Growth of person visits from 1988-89 to 1996-97 averaged just below 2% per annum.

7.4.1 Regional variations in park visitation

There is a large variation in visitor use of Canada's national parks. Banff National Park has the greatest number of person-visits with 4.45 million in 1996-97 while parks such as Aulavik National Park in the Northwest territories had only 20 recorded person visits for the same year. Visitor use of national parks is greatest in the parks of the west, in Alberta and British Columbia, with parks in these two provinces accounting for over 70% of total person visits. Only three parks receive over one million person-visits per year, and they are Banff, Jasper and Kootenay National Parks. Three parks receive between 500,000 and one million visitors (Prince Edward Island, Pacific Rim, and Yoho). The majority of parks (18) receive between 100,000 and 500,000 person visits per annum. The remaining 13 parks receive less than 100,000 person visits per year, and of these, eight receive less than 10,000 person visits per year (Parks Canada 1995b).

Seasonal variation in visitation is also pronounced, primarily because of the extremely cold winters that prevail in many parts of Canada. July and August account for approximately 40% of total annual person visits to national parks (Parks Canada 1995b).

7.4.2 Domestic visitors to national parks

The bulk of visits to national parks and national historic sites (75%) are carried out by Canadians. About 15% of visits to national parks and national historic sites are made by Canadian travellers living more than 250km away, while people living within a 250km radius of such heritage locations account for the remaining 65% of all visits (Parks Canada 1995b).

Results from an Angus Reid national survey conducted in 1993 indicated that approximately 6 million Canadians made at least one trip to a national park during the 12 months prior to the

⁵³ Parks Canada note that the demographic profile of national park users varies from one park to the next, and it is therefore not possible to provide a general picture of the client segment (Parks Canada 1995b)

⁵⁴ Person-visits: Each time a person enters a reporting unit for the purposes of heritage appreciation or recreation. Same day re-entries by visitors staying overnight in the reporting unit do not constitute new person-visits (Parks Canada 1997a).

survey (Angus Reid 1993 in Parks Canada 1995b:24).⁵⁵ Further to this, Parks Canada analysis of data from the 1992 Canadian Travel Survey indicated that about 6% or roughly 4.1 million of the more than 64 million holiday trips of more than one night away from home recently taken by Canadians, included a visit to one or more national parks or national historic sites (Parks Canada 1995b).

7.4.3 International visitors

International travellers are a significant component of the overall tourism activity in Canada. The significance of international travellers to the tourism balance of trade has been highlighted above, as has the importance of Canada's national parks and national historic sites in attracting international travellers to Canada. Research undertaken by Marshall Macklin Monaghan in 1994 indicated that national parks and national historic sites are one of the major reasons why international travellers are attracted to Canada (Parks Canada 1995b).

International travellers account for 25% of all person visits to national parks and national historic sites in Canada (Parks Canada 1995b). The high profile national parks and sites across Canada, such as Banff, Jasper and Cape Breton Highlands National Parks are key drawcards for international visitors.

7.5 Impact of tourism in National Parks

Tourism in the national parks of Canada has grown substantially over the last 30 years. Eidsvik and Henwood (1990:73) in their discussion of protected areas in Canada, note that as the pursuit of outdoor recreation increased in the 1960s and 1970s, "maintaining a wilderness character in many national parks became a serious management challenge". They also note that the presence of downhill skiing in national parks, and the associated development has caused considerable controversy because of its real and perceived environmental impacts.

Nelson, commenting in 1984, believed that there was not a good understanding of the impacts of tourism on Canadian national parks (Nelson 1984). In parks such as Banff, it was likely that the effects of tourism have been largely negative. However, in some parks, such as Point Pelee, special interest tourism may have had a positive impact, by providing a legitimate excuse or focus for parks that enabled them to eliminate undesirable high impact uses such as proliferating and uncontrolled camping.

The lack of knowledge about the impacts of tourism in parks is highlighted in the 1996 report of the Auditor General of Canada (Office of Auditor General 1996). This report notes that

⁵⁵ The population of Canada is approximately 30 million (Statistics Canada 1999)

Parks Canada lacks the key information necessary for park management, such as baseline biophysical information. Parks Canada's "State of the Parks" reporting process is criticised for failing to provide key information about the ecological conditions of the parks. The Auditor General's consultation of on-site staff in national parks revealed that two thirds of parks were experiencing some degree of overuse or crowding, and that increased visitation was beginning to cause environmental problems in some northern parks. The ecological sustainability of the four mountain parks was of particular concern. In this context, the Auditor General was critical of Parks Canada's proposals to increase visitor numbers in national parks, because of the risk of compromising ecological integrity.

The Auditor General's concerns are acknowledged by Parks Canada, which accepts that there is an "uneven capacity of parks and sites to serve visitors...some are over-utilised to the point of degradation of visitor experience and of the natural and cultural resources" (Parks Canada 1995b:29). Similarly, the independent body, the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force established by the Minister of Canadian Heritage in 1994 to address development issues in Banff National Park, concluded that ecological integrity has been, and continues to be increasingly compromised in that park (BBVTF 1996).

In 1995 and 1996 Parks Canada distributed a stress survey questionnaire to all national parks. Teams of experts, including at least one member from outside Parks Canada were asked to complete the questionnaire, which identified twenty-nine possible stressors. The results of the survey are reported upon in the 1997 State of the National Parks Report (CNF 1999c). Tourism and visitor facilities are reported to be causing significant impacts (in 24 out of a total of 36 parks). The degree of development and visitation are correlated with other impacts, such as the invasion of exotic plant species, and pollution from sewage and solid waste. High levels of visitor use and growing urbanisation in and around parks are causing more indirect effects including significant disturbance to wildlife. For example, high levels of back-country use in and around Banff has been shown to displace grizzly bears from preferred foraging sites. Only five out of the thirty-six parks had a high level of ecological integrity – these are the large northern parks that have very little development and few visitors.

Certainly, the perception among some key stakeholders, including Canadian environmental groups, that tourism continues to impact severely upon parks, has been an important point of discussion or disagreement with the parks agency, and a key factor in the interorganisational relationships within this policy domain.

7.6 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to provide a brief overview of Canadian tourism, and to outline the significance of nature based tourism to both its domestic and inbound tourism markets. The importance of Canada's national parks to this market has been highlighted. A salient point is the historic role of national parks as tourism destinations, and a very early recognition by the federal government of the significance of national parks as tourist attractions: the role of parks was well defined, as one of utility, in primarily being a source of tourism revenue. Co-operation between the federal government and the private sector was seen to be critical in developing this role for the parks over a period of resource-poverty on the part of the park managers, and considerable ecological threats to the parks from more traditional extractive land uses.

A description of the development of the parks system illustrates a number of important factors. The first being that for a considerable period of time national parks were not established for the ecological imperatives that are paramount today; the second point being the incredible size and growth of the park system, particularly during and since the 1970s; the final point to be made is the substantial growth in visitor numbers experienced in the parks, especially since the 1960s. This has led to concerns for the well being of the parks, with significant tourism-related impacts perceived from that time through to the present day.

In terms of interorganisational relations, it is apparent that the birth of the national park movement in Canada was largely the result of a collaborative relationship between the federal government and the private sector. As discussed in Chapter Six, the context for business-government interaction at the time was conducive to such relationships. The critical contingency for this relationship was that of reciprocity. At the time, the CPR, involved in a huge railway development project, were substantially in debt. The federal government was also in a position to see the financial (and political) benefits of developing a tourist attraction and attracting valuable foreign exchange – in the national interest. So from a mutual position of resource scarcity, the two parties entered into a relationship based on reciprocity or exchange of resources. The CPR identified areas suitable for parks, and for some time provided the services within those parks. The federal government provided legal protection for the parks, and business protection for the CPR, in maintaining its monopoly on tourist services within the parks.

Over this period, the collaborative relationship between the CPR and the federal government was facilitated by a number of factors. Among these were resource scarcity – on the part of the CPR, in terms of financial returns to maintain its enterprise, and on the part of the federal government, the necessary revenue to assist in regional and national resource development.

The relationship was also facilitated by a shared recognition of the value of co-operation, a positive mutual awareness and trust, and assisted by supportive leadership. Prime Minister Macdonald was an ally of the CPR and had the vision to recognise the economic potential of nature tourism and national parks. This was likely assisted by examples of successful collaboration from America, for example at Yellowstone National Park – thus positive outcomes from a similar relationship were apparent, having been demonstrated in a similar setting.

The relationship was also facilitated by a coincidence of values between the members of the domain. Both the CPR and the government prioritised the role of utility of the parks above protection. At that time, the environmental movement, such that it was, also supported tourism development, in that it provided some degree of protection for natural areas in a development-oriented settler society.

Also at the time, in the absence of both a dedicated parks agency, and a national tourism organisation, the CPR conveniently filled those roles, at their own cost, providing further incentive for the federal government to maintain this relationship. With the advent of the Parks Branch, the intensity of the relationship with the CPR eventually waned, as the Parks Branch began to assume more responsibility for the operation, protection and promotion of the parks.

The relationship that the federal government had with the CPR served as a model for parks agency and private tourism providers for many years. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that visitor pressure and impacts in parks, along with the desires of new stakeholders who held different values, challenged the stability of this traditional linkage.

Further chapters will inform us whether or not parallels may be drawn between the early period of park development and that of the current day, in terms of the adequacy of current resources for maintaining the ecological integrity of parks, the degree of threat that the parks system faces, and the extent of co-operation that may ultimately be required among stakeholders to facilitate protection of the park system. The following chapters will introduce the key stakeholders, and consider the development of their relationships over the recent past.

Chapter 8: Introduction to key stakeholders – the parks agency

8.1 The key stakeholders

There are a number of key stakeholders involved in the formation and implementation of policy concerning tourism within the national parks of Canada. The most obvious and perhaps the most significant of these is the government department with the functional responsibility of constructing parks policy and operationalising that policy. However, policy decisions made by the parks agency are not made in a vacuum. As discussed above, national parks play an important role in Canada's tourism industry, contributing significantly to domestic and international tourism earnings, providing a significant source of foreign exchange, and contributing to regional economic development. The governments of Canada for many years have made a conscious decision to encourage tourism in Canada, and to maximise the tourism balance of trade. Policy decisions made in this arena (tourism marketing/promotion), primarily through the national tourism organisation, may therefore impact on the management of national parks, through increasing the potential numbers of park visitors, and through its policy influence with respect to access to parks for tourism development.

The first half of the thesis, up to this point, has examined the link between sustainability and collaborative interorganisational relationships, and provided a broad scale context for relationships within the study domain. The level of analysis used up to this point has been predominantly macro, with a focus on key paradigms operating through federal level institutional arrangements. The objective of this second half of the thesis, comprising Chapters Eight to Thirteen is to examine the organisational and personal contexts for relationships within the domain. Progressively through the thesis, a meso, or organisational level of analysis and micro or personal level of analysis are adopted: broader social and economic influences are observed through an organisational or personal lens. Throughout the thesis, at all levels of analysis, an approach of providing an historic context for the current relationship between the study organisations is maintained. This chapter will examine the parks agency. A brief history of the parks agency and of its policy environment is provided. The chapter considers how organisational changes and policy developments have influenced the agency's relationships within the study domain over time.

8.2 The keepers of the parks

Although having one of the oldest national parks systems in the world, with its first national park being established in 1885, Canada did not have a dedicated national parks management

agency until 1911. In the intervening years, the few national parks that existed were managed by the Department of the Interior, some being managed in name only. The concept of the “national park” was new, not merely in Canada, but internationally, during the 1880s and 1890s. It was not until the turn of the century that the idea of the national park became established in the national psyche.⁵⁶

Lothian (1977:28) notes that in the early years, many of the new reserves established as precursors to becoming national parks, were “orphans of the park administration”. As discussed in Chapter Seven, only the interest and expenditure of the tourism industry, as represented by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), kept them in the public eye, and presumably guaranteed their future protection, guarding against reallocation to forestry, mining or other extractive uses.

8.2.1 Creation of the Parks Branch

Up until 1911, the fledgling national parks were cared for by the Forestry Branch of the Department of the Interior. The Forestry Branch, as the name suggests, were more interested in forests as sources of timber than for their intrinsic natural values. It was not until 1908 that effective measures were taken to develop adequate game and forest protection for the parks, when parks came under the active management of the Superintendent of Forestry, from 1908-1911 (Lothian 1977).

By 1910, use of the parks by tourists was such that the need for a separate branch of the Department of the Interior to administer and develop parks, was recognised. 1911 saw the introduction of new legislation, and thus administration of the national parks passed from the Forestry Branch to the newly formed Dominion Parks Branch - the worlds first national park bureau. Although the parks branch would come under a number of different departments over the years, it would “always maintain a separate identity and a special sense of purpose or idealism” Marty (1984:89).

8.2.2 Commissioner Harkin

The Parks Branch came under the leadership of the first Commissioner of Dominion Parks, JB Harkin. Harkin has attained somewhat of a mythical status amongst park devotees in Canada. Although he was described as an “ardent conservationist” (Marty 1984:14), Harkin was credited with the opening of national parks to tourism in Canada, and for the introduction of the automobile en-masse into Canadian national parks, thereby creating what Bella (1987)

⁵⁶ There were only 5 parks created between 1885 and 1911, all were located in the Rocky mountains of Alberta and British Columbia, thus, national parks were very much a distant, western phenomena to most of the more densely

terms “autoparks”. Harkin believed that the only legitimate purposes of national parks were recreation, scientific study, education and preservation. However, existing parks suffered from abuse, and Harkin needed more funding for park development and game and forest protection.

... I lay awake at nights thinking of the damage one bad fire might do. Hundreds of miles of new trails and forest telephone lines were needed at once...All this would cost money – a great deal of money. How could the hard-headed members of the House of Commons be persuaded to increase parks’ appropriations? (Harkin 1957 in CPAWS 1999:1).

Harkin recognised that automobile access would be crucial to achieving popularity for, and profits from national parks. And by opening up car access to parks, Harkin addressed criticism at the time that parks were only for the wealthy, who could afford to get there by rail. Harkin’s philosophy was to encourage as many tourists to the new national parks as possible, and by whatever means - without strong public support, not only would existing parks suffer, but potentially the parks movement could die.

Harkin’s quest for publicity (and revenue for the parks) was so intense that in 1923, he permitted the filming of a buffalo stampede in Buffalo National Park, which involved the shooting of 23 buffalo, referring to this as “the most wonderful advertising which can be capitalised... in regard to tourists business next year for Buffalo [National] Park” (Lothian 1981:33).

The commercial gains from successful tourism to Banff were probably quite critical in terms of guaranteeing the future of the parks movement in Canada. Around the turn of the century, extensions to Banff were proposed, and justified on the grounds of the numbers of visitors, which at the time were greater than at Yellowstone National Park, in the USA (CPAWS 1999).⁵⁷

Taylor (1990) writes that the crux of the problem facing Harkin, was that he needed more money to make the parks more popular, but to get this money, he needed to make parks popular. So Harkin embarked on a campaign to sell the idea of national parks. His early reports stressed the value of the tourist traffic from the USA and Europe, and the advantages and attractions of national parks in relation to this tourist traffic. Canadians were called on to participate in the potential profits. In 1913, to increase parks appropriations he told Members of Parliament in his annual report to Parliament that “... nothing attracts tourists like national parks. National parks provide the chief means of bringing to Canada a stream of tourists and a stream of tourist gold” (Marty 1984:97). This emphasis on the monetary value of parks was taken to the extreme by Harkin, when in 1915, for the benefit of the government, in the annual

settled eastern Canada (Lothian 1977).

⁵⁷ In 1887 there were 3000 visitors to Banff national Park, and by 1901, this had grown to 8,156 visitors.

report of the Dominion Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior, he calculated the monetary value of scenery to be \$13.88 per acre, compared with wheat at \$4.91 per acre (Hart 1983:97).⁵⁸ The CPR collaborated with Harkin's efforts to wring more money out of the federal government, expounding the idea that the Canadian Rockies brought in to Canada \$50,000,000 each year from foreign tourists. These efforts eventually lead to the commitment of federal funds for a national parks promotion campaign (that complemented that already run by CPR) (Hart 1983).

For all of Harkin's enthusiasm for attracting the public to national parks, he was not blind to the potential consequences and maintained a creed of "use without abuse", worrying that the parks could lose the very thing that distinguished them from the outside world (Marty 1984:98). Marty believes that Harkin was caught in the same vicious circle that his predecessors (and we might suggest successors?) had tried to deal with; the parks must justify themselves by generating revenue, and like any business, increased patronage comes from increased development such as improved access and facilities, which require increased funding to be justified by increased visitation.

8.2.3 Publicity Division

Interestingly, Harkin advocated the creation of a national travel bureau for Canada, as early as 1917, realising perhaps, the role that such an agency could play in his designs to increase tourism and consequently, gain popular support and protection, for parks. However the establishment of a national tourism organisation was not to be undertaken by the federal government until 1934. In the meantime, after the end of World War I, a Publicity and Information Division of the Parks Branch was created (Marty 1984:99). This division produced illustrated booklets about the function of the Parks Branch, and extolled the attractions of the various national parks. The first such publication appeared in 1914, focusing upon Banff National Park (Lothian 1977). The division also produced motion pictures (copies of which were lent to travel agencies on an international basis), created a slide and photograph library, and distributed prints for publicity purposes. It also undertook special exhibits, for example at world fairs and expositions etc. At its peak, this division had 25 staff. But following the creation of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau in 1934 and with the establishment of the National Film Board, many of its former functions were lost to these new organisations (Lothian 1977).

⁵⁸ Based on earnings of \$16 Million from foreign exchange from tourists

JB Harkin was to remain in charge of the parks branch in its various incarnations, from 1911 until 1936. This long tenure (unheard of in contemporary public management circles) contributed to his immense influence on the development of national parks over the period.

Over the 1930s funds for parks maintenance and development were lost due to the depression, but this was somewhat compensated for by the availability of work schemes for park development. For example, when musician Benny Goodman asked for an airport to be built at Banff, in 1934, so that he could fly his private plane in, CPR (who owned the “entertainment business” in Banff) lobbied the government successfully, and the unemployed were set to work with pick and shovel (Marty 1984:115). It was also over this period that the road from Banff to Jasper was constructed. This road is now perhaps the prime national park motor route in Canada, worth millions of dollars to the tourism industry.

8.2.4 Parks Branch leaves Dept of Interior

In 1936 the Parks Branch left the Department of the Interior, and came under a new department, the Department of Mines and Resources, which was subsequently amalgamated with other branches to become the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, with a National Parks Bureau. Another reorganisation came in 1947, with national parks now coming under the Lands and Development Services Branch, which included the National Parks Service. And yet another departmental reshuffle put the Department of Resources and Development in charge of the National Parks Branch in 1950 (Lothian 1977).

Again the power of personalities in shaping the development of parks and the provision of facilities was demonstrated over the 1940s when James Smart was in control of the National Parks Bureau. Smart was an enthusiastic golfer, and took a personal interest in the planning and development of golf courses that are now a feature of several national parks (Lothian 1977).⁵⁹

8.2.5 Period of expansion

In 1953 came another Department change, now to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The National Parks Branch, under the direction of J.R.B.Coleman from 1957, entered a period of great expansion, both in parks establishment and the extension of park amenities. This coincided with a period of huge growth of visitor numbers, linked mainly to the improved automobile access to parks. In 1955, the federal cabinet approved a

⁵⁹ The golf course phenomenon was not confined to Canada. In the USA and New Zealand, several national parks have associated golf courses, established about this period. Interestingly, recent studies of golf courses in some of Canada's older national parks have revealed high levels of mercury residues from the use of pesticides (Department of Canadian Heritage 1998a)

major programme of highway construction in national parks. By 1957 this programme was underway in several parks and had a major influence on the accelerated use of parks. Subsequently, between 1950 and 1960 parks visits grew from 1.84 million to 5.84 million (Lothian 1977).

A consequence of this increased use of parks was the establishment of two new sections within the National Parks Branch - a long range planning section, created in 1957, and the Education and Interpretation section, established in 1959. To cope with the increased size of the parks "business", the Parks Branch decentralised its operations in 1963, with the creation of separate divisions for the management of national parks, and for historic sites, and with field operations supervised from three regional headquarters, Western, Central and Atlantic.

In 1965 came another name change, to the National and Historic Resources Branch. And in 1966, under the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, came further changes. There was a further name change to the National and Historic Parks Branch, perhaps reflecting the new found popularity of not only the natural parks but also historic sites in Canada. Also at this time, the Canadian Wildlife Service, which had been a part of the Parks Branch since 1918, became a separate branch of the Department. Growth in visitor numbers was very high over this period, increasing from 4 million visitors in 1957 to 13 million a decade later (Lothian 1977). Over this time there was a broad programme of campground improvement and development throughout the park system.

8.2.6 Developments in policy and planning 1960-1974

The 1960s saw some highly significant developments in national park management in Canada. Not the least of these was the adoption in 1964 of the first statement of national park policy for Canada. Further to this, in 1965 a unit for programme planning and co-ordination was established in Ottawa (central headquarters). This unit was to be replicated in all regional offices by 1972. The expansion of the planning section from 1957 "exerted a significant influence on national park administration" and by 1966 had become a subdivision of the National Parks Service (Lothian 1977:25). The division was staffed by professionals, and undertook a range of research activities, including studies of park users, and economic research, along with the preparation of park master plans.

The next major development was the 1968 announcement of public hearings for park planning, and the establishment of a public hearings office of the National Parks Service. This represented a change in organisational boundaries for the Parks Service, which for the first time would formally incorporate public input in the park planning process. This was thus a

highly significant step and demonstrates an institutional response to the shifting emphasis to participatory democracy in Canada (as discussed in Chapter Five).

The late 1960s also saw further decentralisation, with more regional offices being created (five now, with Western being divided into Western and Prairie Regions, and Central being divided into Quebec and Ontario Regions).⁶⁰ In 1973, the National and Historic Parks Branch became Parks Canada. Parks Canada initially had three divisions, the National Parks Branch, the Historic Parks and Sites Branch, and the Policy, Planning and Research Branch. The role of the Ottawa office in formulation of policy and long range planning was emphasised, along with its role of liaison and co-operation with other departments and governments (provincial and territorial). In 1974, a Liaison and Consultation Group was formed, acknowledging the increased significance of and workload associated with public input to the parks planning process (Lothian 1977).

8.2.7 Another new home for Parks

In 1979, Parks Canada was transferred from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the Department of the Environment (Environment Canada). It remained with this department until 1993, when transferred to the new Department of Canadian Heritage. Over the period with Environment Canada the name of the parks agency changed to the Canadian Parks Service, in 1987, and back again to Parks Canada in 1993.

Hence Parks Canada has been in three different federal government departments over the last thirty years. Each department has had its own priorities that have influenced the way that parks have been managed with respect to tourism. Under Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Parks Branch was in a substantial department with a large and varied range of functions. An example of one of these functions potentially conflicting with the national park preservation mandate, was the use of tourism as an economic development tool for the north.

The move to the Department of the Environment in 1979 was probably a reflection of the increased awareness of parks and environmental issues in general at the time. However, the move was unpopular with tourism developers as Parks Canada began to focus on environmental issues, began to include more environmental groups in its planning process, and placed a new emphasis on Environmental Assessment (Banff-Bow Valley Task Force 1996).

⁶⁰ Decentralisation was initially a result of the Glassco Royal Commission on Government Organisation in 1962 (Lothian 1977).

When considering parks agency relations with interest groups and other federal organisations, the significance of the agency's parent department must not be overlooked. The parks agency was with Environment Canada from 1979 to 1993. Over that period, Environment Canada's history in terms of funding and profile has been characterised as "a roller-coaster ride" (Toner 1997). At various times, Environment Canada's ability to operate has been influenced by ineffectual ministers, and huge funding cuts (Brown 1992). The organisation also has historically been subject to criticism that its interagency consultation has been inadequate. But a combination of 1990 Green Plan developments and a \$30 billion injection of funding, coupled with a sudden rise in environmental consciousness in the Canadian constituency (substantial enough to have been described as a paradigm shift by commentators (Paehlke 2000)) identified a rise in Environment Canada's fortunes (Brown 1992). Consequently, over the period from 1989 to 1993 Environment Canada experienced previously unknown influence and access to a wide range of other federal agencies. However more recently, a fall from grace has been associated with cuts to the Green Plan funding and with reorganisation and transfer of the CPS to Department of Canadian Heritage in 1993 (Toner 1996:99). Thus the parks agency too, has been subject to this turbulent 'ride' and it must be questioned whether Environment Canada provided an effective and stable context for its agencies such as parks to operate within, and form relationships from.

In 1993, Parks Canada moved again, to the newly formed Department of Canadian Heritage. Payne (1997) notes the significance of this move. Although once an identifiable unit with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and then with Environment Canada, Parks Canada was now "completely integrated" with the Department of Canadian Heritage. Up until this time the parks agency had exhibited a traditional bureaucratic structure: headquarters to deal with policy; regional offices to translate policy into action and support individual parks and sites; and field operations to deliver programmes. Integration into the Department of Canadian Heritage, however, changed this structure with the loss (or at least reduction) of the individual parks agency profile at both the headquarters and regional levels. Possibly too, these changes contributed to an erosion of the agency's sense of identity and purpose which was previously reinforced by the structural and 'separate' features of their existence. While Parks Canada is designated as a "special enterprise" unit within the department, responsible to the Minister of Canadian Heritage but independent of the Canadian Heritage bureaucracy, it no longer retains its more independent nature nor structures that sustained it. Recent changes in 1998 (which are discussed below) making Parks Canada a Special Operating Agency, may in part address some of the above issues relating to integration and identity.

Nonetheless, despite the issues surrounding integration, it is apparent that the move to the Department of Canadian Heritage pleased advocates for a separate parks ministry, as the parks

programme would no longer have to compete with higher profile programmes in Environment Canada. Apparently the move also pleased developers, that now parks were out of the reach of the perceived protectionist influence of Environment Canada. Environmentalists, however, were unhappy and concerned about a move which saw Parks Canada in a new department that had as one of its key mandates the promotion and celebration of heritage rather than an explicitly and exclusively preservationist role (Payne 1997).

Changes in the name of the parks agency and its position within the federal structure are not merely window-dressing. Changes to the institutional setting of the agency has real implications for the functioning image of the organisation. Structural changes impact on identity, visibility, as well as resourcing and such change also impacts on relationships with other organisations. The politics of structural change are complex in that these changes are responded to differently by different groups. Environmental groups (as opposed to tourism development interests) were supportive of Parks Canada's integration with Environment Canada because of the perception that environmental issues would be a more important part of the organisation's agenda within this department (ironically, as will be discussed later in this chapter, despite the above perceptions, whilst under the Environment Canada umbrella, the parks agency engaged upon one of the most intense periods of marketing research seen in the history of the organisation). However despite the above perception, evidence suggests that competing interests within that department impacted negatively on the parks agency, much to the chagrin of environmental groups. So while structural changes *do* impact on an organisation's relationships, the changes are by no means predictable, as mandates and internal organisational priorities can bring about outcomes that might not be assumed.

8.2.8 Resourcing issues for the parks agency

The changes in structure and location and the move from separateness to integration (and again to separateness with Agency status?) have taken place in a period that has been characterised by downsizing and uncertainty. This downsizing is part of cost cutting pressures brought to bear across the federal government since 1993 (Payne 1997). However, financial restraint, particularly on capital expenditure has been a feature of the parks environment since the late 1970s (Taylor 1991). As far back as 1979, the Assistant Deputy Minister responsible for Parks Canada bemoaned the financial restraint the organisation was facing, and identified the task of managing for increased visitor use with less resources as the greatest challenge for the organisation (Davidson 1979).

From the 1970s to the mid-1980s, the operating budget of the parks agency increased substantially, although the parks system itself had also increased dramatically in size over this period. In 1970 the parks budget (including historic sites) was \$54M, a figure that had

doubled by 1975 to \$107M, and then almost doubled again to \$192M by 1978 (DIANA 1975; DIANA 1978). By 1984, the budget was over \$300M, but in 1985, the new Conservative federal Minister of the Environment, Suzanne Blais-Grenier initiated sweeping budget cuts to Parks Canada, cutting \$20M off them (as an indication of the Minister's attitude to national parks, she also refused to guarantee that logging and mining would not occur in parks) (Environment Canada 1986; CPAWS 1999b). A CPS document prepared in 1988 in response to cabinet's Economy and Environment directives (stemming from the Brundtland Report) emphasises the decreased resourcing that prevailed, in spite of additional demands being made upon the organisation after years of expansion and development of the parks system:

Emphasis on the development of additional parks and on new facilities within established parks, combined with decreasing capital budgetary allotments, have resulted in serious dislocations in the Service's ability to meet its requirements (CPS 1988:18).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, funding for Parks Canada has fallen substantially. Associated with this has been a commitment from Parks Canada to further reduce its annual funding requirements by \$98 M (approximately 25%) in the period from 1994-1995 to 1998-1999. Revenues were expected to increase by about 80% over that period from \$35 M to \$64 M (Parks Canada 1995). The Assistant Deputy Minister, Parks, Tom Lee, talks of a visit to Parks Canada by "Darth Vader" (the Minister of Finance): "...we did anticipate the visit of Darth Vader. What we didn't anticipate is that he would camp out in our back yard and stay around for quite so long" (Department of Canadian Heritage 1996a:5).¹

From as early as 1988, the parks agency has explored ways of alleviating the impact of the funding shortfall, "including attempts to divest itself of responsibilities" (CPS 1988:18). Continued reductions in base funding have led to innovative ways of reducing costs, such as the 1996 initiative to contract out basic services at its parks and sites to employees. Taking advantage of a 1993 Treasury Board policy encouraging employee takeovers, in 1996 Parks Canada asked employees if they were interested in taking over 123 packages of services as independent contractors (Beeby 1996). That year, Parks Canada, through the Canadian Parks Partnership also launched an initiative to gain corporate sponsors to raise funds and promote national parks for the public (Spears 1997). Ironically the Programme Review pressures put on Parks Canada to increase the rate of cost recovery at one stage threatened the viability of these fundraising partnerships e.g. there was pressure to increase rental fees for the space used by co-operating associations as sales outlets in Parks Canada (TBS 1999).⁶¹

⁶¹ This has also led to Parks Canada looking at innovative ways of reducing costs, such as the 1996 initiative to contract out basic services at its parks and sites to employees. Taking advantage of a 1993 Treasury Board policy encouraging employee take overs, in 1996 Parks Canada asked employees if they were interested in taking over 123 packages of services as independent contractors (Beeby 1996). That year, Parks Canada, through the Canadian Parks Partnership also launched an initiative to gain corporate sponsors to raise funds and promote national parks for the public (Spears 1997). Ironically the Programme Review pressures put on Parks Canada to increase the rate

Also, associated with the reductions programme has been a substantial drop in the number of employees (Parks Canada 1995). Critics of these recent restructuring efforts have argued that changes have thrown the programme into disarray, and that the resulting uncertainty has contributed to low staff morale (BBVTF 1996). Following on from the series of restructurings in the early 1990s, in the 1996 federal budget, the federal government announced its intention to establish Parks Canada as a Special Operating Agency (Parks Canada 1997a). The justification for doing so was that this would better position Parks Canada to fulfil its current mandate.

8.2.9 The influence of the Treasury Board

Parks Canada must take direction from central federal agencies including the Treasury Board. An example of the influence of the Treasury Board is the above increased emphasis on revenue generation by government agencies across the board, including Parks Canada. Rollins (1993:92) notes that revenue management has been given special emphasis since 1984, although this is even more the case since 1995. The emphasis on revenue has resulted in changes to the organisational culture and institutional arrangements of the parks agency: the agency must now become revenue generators, not revenue takers.

Recent (post 1995) moves on Parks Canada's behalf to adopt a more business-like approach are reflected in the current structure of the organisation. Parks Canada has three directorates: National Parks; National Historic Parks and Sites; and Investments. The Investments directorate, according to Payne (1997), embodies the recent business orientation of Parks Canada. Parks Canada Investments originated in the 1995 Parks Canada Business Plan, and has the roles of ensuring that costs are contained, that expenditures for infrastructure yield returns (usually within a three year period), and that revenues are generated where appropriate (Payne 1997). Parks Canada's new approach to revenue management emphasises "sound business practices" and is aimed at reducing the current reliance on appropriations in favour of a greater emphasis on user fees (Government of Canada 1995a).

Along with the increased emphasis on cost cutting and revenue earning, the Treasury Board has promoted to all federal departments the value of entering into partnership arrangements with the private sector (Treasury Board 1995). This directive has been taken on board by Parks Canada, and an apt example is the 1995 \$20 million agreement between Parks Canada

of cost recovery at one stage threatened the viability of these fundraising partnerships e.g. there was pressure to increase rental fees for the space used by co-operating associations as sales outlets in Parks Canada (TBS 1999).

and the Brewster Transport Company for the co-operative redevelopment of the visitor centre at the Columbia Icefield at Jasper National Park.⁶²

8.2.10 Special Operating Agency

The move to convert Parks Canada to a Special Operating Agency (SOA), is a key part of the federal government's plan to place its departments on a more business-like footing. According to the Treasury Board, SOAs are increasingly being seen as "one of the more effective means of delivering government services with due sensitivity to client requirements and bottom-line costs" (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat 1992:1). SOAs are operational organisations within existing departmental structures that deliver services, as distinct from providing policy advice to Ministers. Each SOA negotiates administrative flexibilities suited to its operational requirements. Whilst the Treasury Board notes that SOAs are not necessarily revenue dependent, it is noted that some SOAs operate on full revenue dependency. Normally the SOA designation is granted to "suitable candidates on the basis that the organisation is in stable policy environment and that all parties having a vested interest consider it advantageous to apply the SOA concept" (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat 1992).⁶³

With regard to the above indication for consensus, Parks Canada held discussions across Canada concerning the Agency proposal, which revealed "deep concern about the scale of programme reductions and a fear of commercialisation of parks and sites" (Parks Canada 1997a:4). However, it was proposed to proceed with legislation to create an Agency, which would exercise, on behalf of the Minister of Canadian Heritage, the powers, duties and functions under the National Parks Act and other associated acts.⁶⁴ The Agency would be delegated authority for administrative and financial management. The Parks Canada agency would differ from the existing organisation in two ways: first there would be a direct executive relationship between the Agency and the Minister, and second, the administrative arrangements for the Agency would be "tailor-made to its objectives and operational requirements" (Parks Canada 1997a:5). For example, the Agency would be granted a two-year rolling budget, full retention and re-investment authority for all income, and retain the income from the sale of surplus assets and from general donations. Under the conventional

⁶² As an aside, the writer visited the Columbia Icefield visitor centre in November 1997. A personal impression gained from the visit was the low profile of Parks Canada within the centre: the image is dominated by the Brewster Transport Company, and Parks Canada's role there is a little difficult to ascertain on first impression. This supports the ADM Parks' (Tom Lee) comments about the potential loss to the parks organisation when it is not adequately 'visible' within partnerships (Department of Canadian Heritage 1996a).

⁶³ In 1999, 16 Agencies or Corporations reported to Parliament through the Department of Canadian Heritage alone (Department of Canadian Heritage 1999)

⁶⁴ The Parks Canada Agency came into force on December 21, 1998, when Parliament passed the Parks Canada Agency Act. This legislation gives the Agency new and more flexible authorities in financial, administrative and human resource management. Tom Lee, who was previously the Assistant Deputy Minister (Parks) in the Department of Canadian Heritage, was appointed as Chief Executive Officer of the Agency. The Agency will report to Parliament through the Department of Canadian Heritage and will remain within that department's portfolio (DCH 1998).

departmental structure, all park revenues were turned over to Treasury Board, becoming part of the general government revenue.

The head of the new Agency would have exclusive authority to appoint employees and provide for the terms and conditions of employment. Whilst remaining in the Public Service, the Agency would be a separate employer, and have more “flexibility to hire and deploy staff” and the “opportunity to design classification and compensation systems that reflect the Agency’s particular operational needs” (Parks Canada 1997a:8).

From 1996 some initial reorganisation occurred, at both the park and site level and at the upper management level in Ottawa. For example, the number of senior officers (Director General level) was reduced, and also field unit superintendents were put in place, responsible for one or more national parks or historic sites. Regional Parks Canada offices have been removed, and have become service units for Department-wide work. A consequence of this change, has been that the degree of technical support once provided by regional offices is no longer available (Payne 1997).

At the time of study, in the Parks Canada structure, there were six Regional Executive Directors who reported to the Deputy Minister and who were responsible for all programme areas within the Department of Canadian Heritage. Reporting to them were provincial or district directors. Staff at Parks Canada Headquarters report, through their Directors General, to an Assistant Deputy Minister responsible for Parks Canada.

Accompanying a changing structural environment for the parks agency, has been a changing policy environment, especially with respect to tourism and national parks. The following sections will examine the changing policy environment for tourism in parks, and seek indications of how this policy has or has not been translated into practice, noting implications for the agency’s interorganisational relationships.

8.3 Legislative and policy developments

National parks policy in Canada has gone through a number of changes, all of which have been significantly influenced by political, economic and social conditions. Rounthwaite provides an overview of this process, from the inception of the park system, through to 1982, noting a parallel between the goals of park policy and the goals of Canada’s “national policy” as a whole (Rounthwaite 1982). Four distinct phases of park policy are identified from the inception of the parks system through to 1982. The first phase was characterised by exploitation of park resources for their economic value. The next phase was a period of identification of the other values of parks and the establishment of protective institutions. The

third phase was a phase of consolidating the foundations for the protection of parks, but also of huge growth of visitor numbers and along with this, tourist development in parks. The final phase is characterised by the development of formal policy establishing limits for tourism use of parks.

The *Rocky Mountain Parks Act 1887* was the first piece of legislation governing national parks in Canada. This legislation used much the same phrases that the Americans had used in dedicating Yellowstone National Park the previous decade (Marty 1984). It defined the first parks as “public park and pleasure grounds for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada” (Marty 1984:62). This legislation apparently reflected the view of the west at the time as having unlimited potential, and that restrictions on exploitation were unnecessary.

However, as settlement proceeded, the finite nature of these resources was starting to become apparent. The period from 1911 to 1930 has been described as representing the birth of the movement to preserve the resources of the parks (Rounthwaite 1982). The 1911 *Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act*, along with establishing the parks agency, the National Parks Branch, placed greater restrictions on resource harvesting within national parks (Banff-Bow Valley Task Force (BBVTF 1996). The new Act excluded new mining and commercial lumbering, the Minister at the time stressing that “there will be no business there [the parks] except such as is absolutely necessary for the recreation of the people” (BBVTF 1996:13). Despite, or perhaps because of these policy advancements, commercial development of the parks continued as entrepreneurs recognised the potential of parks to attract tourists. And the commercial development of tourism would not have been seen to have been removed from the culture of resource exploitation that in fact continued in part through the extraction of minerals and timber through to the 1950s and in some cases beyond (in one park, logging continued into the 1990s).

The *National Parks Act* of 1930 was a major step forward in the added protection it offered for national parks, incorporating “conservationist principles” (BBVTF 1996:393). The Act excluded all industrial activity and dedicated national parks to “...the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment...to be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations”. Thus the dichotomy of national park management objectives was perpetuated - on the one hand parks were for enjoyment, but on the other, they had to be preserved: how would this be managed? Dearden and Berg (1993:195) note how the 1930 Act allowed “considerable latitude for discretion by the Minister and management staff” and how consequently, “various interest groups have fought to influence decision making in their favour within the bounds set by legislation and policy”.

It is, as others have observed, unfortunate, that the government did not adopt (at an early stage) a formal statement of park policy to flesh out the rather ephemeral statement of purposes of the new act (Rounthwaite 1982). The term “benefit, education and enjoyment of the people of Canada” was interpreted according to the economic needs of the times and there was a large degree of misunderstanding as to the real and unique purposes of national parks (Rounthwaite 1982). The period from 1930 to 1964 has been described as “the age of the concession” (Rounthwaite 1982:51). The decision whether any particular concession or service should be permitted in the parks for the “enjoyment” of the public was left to the discretion of the individual park superintendents. A consequence of the combined forces of public misunderstanding of the purposes of the parks and pressure from the private business sector was that parks were subjected to continued commercial development (Rounthwaite 1982).

The parks agency continued to work under the dichotomous 1930 legislation up until the late 1980s. From the 1970s, with continued pressure for development of the parks, there was a recognition of the need for a stronger legislative environment for their management. A 1988 CPS document notes that “[proposed] amendments to the National Parks Act will strengthen the Service’s mandate and will increase its ability to resist pressures that now threaten some of the parks within the system” (CPS 1988:7). Attempts were made with the 1988 amendment of the National Parks Act to reduce the above dichotomy, by placing greater emphasis on ecological integrity. However, the process of change was not easy. Interestingly, the process of getting the 1930 Act amended offers one of the more flagrant examples of the influence of federalism or parochialism on national park management. Bill C-30, proposing 37 amendments to the 1930 Act, was for some time blocked by Alberta MPs, who were opposed to amendments that would limit the tourism development potential in Banff and Jasper National Parks (CPAWS 1999b).

But the amendments did eventuate, and as a consequence of these legislative changes, Hildebrandt notes, there are dramatic differences between the reasons for establishing [and managing] a national park in 1887 and today (Hildebrandt 1995 in BBVTF 1996:25). Of course, legislation cannot be considered a true reason for change in isolation, as the social and economic situation is substantially different 100 years on and the legislation simply reflects these wider changes and indeed is a response to them.

Consequently, the 1988 legislative amendment clearly emphasised the primacy of ecological integrity: “Maintenance of ecological integrity through the protection of natural resources shall be the first priority when considering park zoning and visitor use in a management plan” (section 5.1.2. *National Park Act 1988*). Another important feature of the 1988 amendment

was enhanced accountability through regular “State of the Parks” reporting, required biennially.

In terms of the day to day management of the parks, most decisions in parks are directed by a host of regulations passed as Orders in Council, pursuant to the National Parks Act e.g. regulations for camping, fishing, aircraft, licensing commercial activities etc. (Rollins 1993). These regulations are guided by the Act, and by statements of policy produced by the parks agency.

8.3.1 National parks policy

The first policy developed for national parks was released in 1964. This was a response to the findings of the Glassco Commission on Government Organisation (1962), which was the first federal investigative body to formally point out the anomaly of providing amenities and recreational facilities in national parks when the National Parks Act required parks to be “unimpaired for future generations” (Lothian 1977). The resultant 1964 policy was a milestone in the sense that it was a first for national parks in Canada, and more generally it signals a shift toward a greater emphasis being placed on protection of natural and historic resources, interpretation and educational activities, and professional planning (Parks Canada 1979). In the new policy, the government gave official recognition to the danger of unchecked development of recreation and entertainment facilities. Parks were no longer to be perceived in the traditional resort image, and the Parks Branch would undertake a programme of public education emphasising the parks as sanctuaries not only “of” nature, but “for” nature (Rounthwaite 1982). Development would only be permitted if it enhanced enjoyment and appreciation of the parks in a manner that did not unduly impair the natural environment.

At the time, however, the policy was not welcomed by all stakeholders. The government of Alberta for example, appealed to the federal government that the new policy would have a detrimental affect on the tourist industry of Alberta (Lothian 1977). Furthermore, there were weaknesses in the new policy, for example the question of whether or not tourist facilities such as swimming pools, golf courses and marinas were compatible with the purposes of national parks, was not raised. Thus, a statement of the types of concession activity permitted in parks may have been useful (Rounthwaite 1982). Such a clarification may have prevented the continuing pressure and escalation of concessions observed in some parks.

Indeed, the 1964 policy did not result in a lessening of the pressures for concession activity by the private sector: In the year 1967-68, construction began on two new motels in Jasper National Park; during the year 1968-69, 262 new motel units were constructed at Banff and Jasper; by 1970 the National Parks Service reported that commercial establishments in the

parks provided approximately 15,000 beds in hotel and motel facilities and that plans had been completed for a major complex at Lake Louise, ultimately providing over 2,000 beds, a community centre, shopping facilities, service station, restaurant and year round parking (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1968, 1969, 1970 in Rounthwaite 1982:53). A pattern of development emerged that indicates that while the policy was applied to restrict the growth of concessions in parks established subsequent to 1964, it was totally ineffective in controlling concession activity in the pre-existing parks (Rounthwaite 1982).

Despite limitations on implementation, the 1964 policy was undoubtedly a milestone, and marks the beginning of a period of policy development that is characterised by the development of formal policy aimed at establishing limits for tourism use of parks (Rounthwaite 1982). The policy thus also marks a significant point in the parks agency's relations with tourism interests. The next policy for national parks was released in 1969. This attempted to interpret the intention of the *National Parks Act 1930*, especially section 4 of that Act, which dealt with the General Purpose of Parks. The preface to the 1969 policy acknowledged that popular interpretation of that section had been to "permit and even encourage artificial recreations and to develop parks... along summer resort lines", and that "the value of nature has taken a decisive 2nd place" (National and Historic Parks Branch 1969:4). Now, for the first time, policy was saying that an important and fundamental obligation was to *preserve*: "The provision of urban type recreational facilities is not part of the basic purpose of parks" (National and Historic Parks Branch 1969:5). The policy goes on however, to say that recreational facilities must be in harmony with the purpose and preservation of a park and may be introduced as required to meet recreational needs - which is somewhat ambiguous, and certainly potentially mitigates against the first basic purpose. Minimised impairment from such development was the goal, and substantive impairment was not acceptable. Further detailed policies (mainly restrictive) are included concerning roading, airfields, dwellings, etc. Importantly, townsites, to date always a bone of contention between park managers and developers, were not categorically restricted and it was considered that they "may be acceptable" (National and Historic Parks Branch 1969:5).

The 1979 revision of policy is more specific about the extent of permissible concession activity. For example no new golf courses and downhill ski areas would be developed in national parks, and commercial services and facilities such as hotels, stores and service stations would, "wherever feasible" be located in communities adjacent to national parks (Parks Canada 1979:43). Transportation in parks would be non-motorised wherever feasible, and air transportation would not be permitted except in strictly controlled circumstances. No new towns would be developed within national parks (Parks Canada 1979:44).

Rounthwaite's analysis provides a useful overview of the extant policies over the period of development of the park system up until about 1980. Most significantly, Rounthwaite identifies the gap between policy and implementation, particularly during the latter "protectionist" phase (1964 onwards). As evidenced, policy is not always reflected in practice. Other research supports this observation, for example Dearden (1995) argues that although the 1979 policy statement had a strong conservation orientation, management of individual parks and sites within those parks did not always reflect this. Current perceptions of inappropriate and continued pro-active work in park tourism development appear to support Dearden's observation (e.g. CPAWS 1999).

It appears that park policy has evolved in response to changes in the public's perception of the purposes of the national parks. These changes in policies are extremely significant for relations between the key stakeholders, the parks agency, environmentalists, and the tourism industry. As Rounthwaite (1982:53) observes, "It is clear that the swing from a policy based on economic incentives to programmes based on preservationist values has resulted in a continual struggle between these competing interests".

This analysis however, only covers the period up to 1982, and it was noted at that time, that the legislative purposes of parks needed clarification in order that in the future, economic interests do not "dictate a relapse into the period of economic exploitation" (Rounthwaite 1982:54). In the period from 1982 onwards, this need for legislative clarification was addressed by the 1988 amendments to the National Parks Act, but considering further changes to the political and economic environments that have since occurred, whether this clarification has precluded a relapse is debatable and will be explored below. While in the earlier phases of park development we can see a shift away from a primary focus on economic exploitation toward preservation, by the mid to late 1980s significant economic and social changes had shaped legislative responses. The shift towards incorporating preservation and moving away from pure resource exploitation occurred during a relatively prosperous economic period in Canada, the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s and early 1990s, Canada and many other industrialised nations experienced significant economic change, manifesting itself in periods of recession. Coinciding with these trends was the emergence of tourism as a recognisable or legitimate 'industry', with consequently an enhanced role in Canada's economy. The policy that emerged in this period reflects these wider socio/economic concerns and realities.

8.3.2 Current policy

The current principal policy document that Parks Canada works to is the *Guiding Principles and Operational Policies* (Department of Canadian Heritage 1994). This replaced the 1979 policy, and incorporates changes which reflect "the greater sense of urgency in dealing with

environmental and heritage matters” (Department of Canadian Heritage 1994:8). This policy also reflects legislative and programme changes since 1979, for example the 1988 amendments to the National Parks Act. The policy addresses the role of parks in tourism, by recognising the increasing role of tourism in the North American economy, and notes that:

While Parks Canada does not have a direct mandate for tourism, it does have a part to play in recognising and supporting tourism’s place in presenting an image of Canada to visitors, in helping to maintain a sound and prosperous economy, and in fostering sustainable development that benefits local communities (Department of Canadian Heritage 1994:13).

The inclusion of this statement is significant as it is the first time that the role of Parks Canada in tourism has been so clearly enunciated in major public policy. It would be difficult to say though, whether this represents a change in policy direction, away from protection towards use, as the 1994 policy also places a much greater emphasis on ecological integrity as a guiding principle. This policy move is the result of many influences, including the wider socio-economic environment, and notably the increasing importance of tourism in the national and regional economies, with national parks helping to maintain a “prosperous economy”. It is also an explicit acknowledgement of tourism or the value of utility that has been a feature of parks since their introduction. Perhaps what the policy also represents is Parks Canada ‘coming clean’ in finally explicitly acknowledging its tourism role - something hitherto only implicitly recognised and then, only by parts of the organisation. However, as we will see, the policy explicitly prioritises ecological sustainability.

8.3.3 Sustaining the natural heritage

In listing the guiding principles by which Parks Canada contributes to sustaining natural heritage, the 1994 policy lists “protecting ecological integrity” as taking precedence, and that decisions shall be made on “sound...ecosystem-based management practices” (Department of Canadian Heritage 1994:18). In the guiding principle concerning “appropriate visitor activities” the policy states:

Opportunities will be provided to visitors that enhance public understanding, appreciation, enjoyment and protection of the national heritage and which are appropriate to the purpose of each park...Essential and basic services are provided while maintaining ecological and commemorative integrity and recognising the effects of incremental and cumulative impacts...Public demand alone is not sufficient justification for provision of facilities and services in support of appropriate activities (Department of Canadian Heritage 1994:18).

The 1994 policy is the first to introduce the concept of sustainability, which is highlighted within the policy - both sustainability with respect to *ecological systems* and sustainability with respect to *local communities*. Sustainable use is defined: “A general term meaning that people can gain direct and indirect benefits from heritage resources over the long term without

destroying them” (Department of Canadian Heritage 1994:122). The importance of managing heritage places in a sustainable manner, along with the role of Parks Canada in contributing to broader sustainable development goals is recognised: “Parks Canada recognises that while protected heritage areas often play a major role in local economies, sustainable tourism must be based upon. “maintaining ecological and commemorative integrity” (Department of Canadian Heritage 1994:14).⁶⁵ These statements are interesting in that sustainable tourism is *conditional* on maintaining the ecological integrity of the site i.e. on ecological sustainability, rather than attempting to incorporate all aspects of sustainability (e.g. community, economic).

8.3.4 Visitor management

A brief examination of visitor management in Canadian national parks is useful at this point. Looking at *when* visitor management techniques became regularly used, provides an idea of when there was a perception within the parks agency that visitor impacts became unacceptable in terms of maintaining some level of ecological integrity within the parks. And by examining *which* visitor management frameworks were employed, and *when*, it is possible to explore the goals and attitudes of park management towards visitors and tourism in parks over time, and their relationship with the various stakeholders involved in national parks.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, zoning is one means of managing visitors and thus visitor impact within a park setting. Zoning, an urban planning strategy that involves the process of separating out mutually incompatible functions, was introduced as a management tool to Canadian national parks in the 1970s, and became a requirement through formal policy in 1969 (National and Historic parks Branch 1969). To date, zoning remains the primary park visitor management tool. Further to this, four other visitor management frameworks have been employed (somewhat sporadically) in parks across Canada since the 1970s. The frameworks include the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS), Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC), Visitor Impact Management (VIM) and the Visitor Activity Management Process (VAMP). Of these VAMP is the only one to originate from within Canada, the others being developed in the United States. VAMP was developed by the CPS in conjunction with academic researchers, and in response to concerns within the CPS and from outside (namely the Auditor General in the early 1980s) about the adequacy of visitor services (Payne and Graham 1993). During the 1970s and 1980s Canadian national parks continued to be promoted as international tourism destinations by other federal government departments (Payne and Graham 1993). By the 1980s this tourism focus on parks provided the impetus for CPS to adopt a more professional approach to visitor services, and the Visitor Activity Management Process (VAMP) was both a response and outcome in this period.

⁶⁵ Parks Canada defines ecological integrity as “a condition where the structure and function of an ecosystem are unimpaired by stresses induced by human activity and are likely to persist” (Auditor General 1996:31-8)

VAMP was also a response to the inadequacies of the zoning system in providing for recreational opportunities (Rollins 1993). VAMP is a visitor-centred approach, revolving around visitor activity profiles which allows the assessment of each activity in terms of the four policy objectives for National parks -protection, understanding, appreciation, and enjoyment. The process can indicate appropriate or inappropriate activities and helps to inform managers how involved they should be in providing for and promoting each recreation activity. VAMP has been used in Canadian national parks since 1985.

The adoption of VAMP was significant, as it represented a departure from a supply-driven to a demand-driven management framework. There was resistance to VAMP internally within the CPS, probably due to its market-driven approach and because of departures from traditional ways of viewing parks. That is, the introduction of VAMP in 1985 formalised the view within the CPS of national parks as attractions (although other levels of government had already held this view) (Payne and Graham 1993).

The potential of VAMP to encourage a co-operative style of management involving stakeholders is considerable. Out of all of the frameworks, it probably offers the greatest opportunity for consultation, and as such is illustrative of a management approach that is (at least potentially) more inclusive. However, what is possible, is not always realised. Other structural/functional realities can impede inclusiveness. For example, research suggests that in this period, limited implementation of VAMP, coupled with the retention of 'advisory committees' during management and service planning in practice limited co-operation (Payne and Graham 1993). Whilst the authors do not provide an explicit reason for the latter, it is implied that these management committees have taken traditional natural science approaches to planning and are thus dominated by such interests.

8.4 Tourism policy and practice in national parks

The above discussion has illustrated the changing nature of the formal policy environment for tourism in Canadian national parks, and alluded to the policy implementation gap whereby tourism development for some time continued unabated in the face of this supposedly more protectionist policy environment. This section will address and explain the policy gap, how it emerged, and highlight some of the external and internal influences that have historically influenced tourism in Canada's national parks.

In terms of the conflict between preservation and tourism use, tourism policies adopted during the early phase of parks development, from 1885 through to at least 1930 may have contributed to some of the problems faced by parks management today. By actively promoting the parks as public pleasure grounds, the CPR and the Canadian Government created an image

of the national parks which has persisted in the minds of many park visitors and also in the minds of tourism developers (Rounthwaite 1982). Over this period, for example, townsites were established in a number of national parks (Banff, Jasper, Yoho, Glacier, Prince Albert, Waterton Lakes, and Riding Mountain), a development that has probably been the greatest source of conflict and discontent among park stakeholders in the history of the parks system.

This image of parks as pleasure grounds persisted through to the 1950s and 1960s, a period when demand for recreational use of the national parks grew immensely. The post war growth of disposable income, leisure time and increased mobility combined to again attract the attention of private enterprise to the income potential of supplying the needs of park visitors (Rounthwaite 1982). As Bella (1987:108) notes, the 1950s and 1960s was a difficult time for parks, in terms of gaining resources for development, and “the only defence of national parks was an economic one, based on increased tourism”. This was a period when the Parks Branch attempted to meet the demand for recreational experiences in the parks, through, for example, the development of new amenities such as camping grounds and the provision of educational and interpretative activities and resources. They also provided for a range of visitor demands through the granting of concessions in parks - concessions to build and run accommodation and recreation facilities, and to run a range of activities.

Nowhere more so was this development witnessed than at Banff National Park. Marty writes that Banff has been the “victim of history and the tremendous pressures put on it over the years by the visiting public and by businessmen pressing for expanded facilities” (Marty 1984:134). This pressure was so great that in 1960 the Minister in charge of the Parks Branch, the Hon. A Hamilton asked for people to band together and help save the parks from those who wished to exploit them with “inappropriate commercialised tourism” and “every honky-tonk recreational device known to man” (Bella 1987:111; Marty 1984:134).

Unfortunately for the Minister, the drive for expanded facilities in parks came not only from outside, but also from within. Over the 1960s and 1970s, the Parks Branch, the CPS and then Parks Canada undertook a number of internally motivated studies of the recreational potential of national parks. For example, in the 1960s a survey of the potential to develop skifields in Cape Breton National Park was undertaken (although this survey was partly motivated by the federal government’s desire for diversification of this region’s economy in view of the declining coal industry (Lothian 1977)). As Nelson (1989:90) notes, planning to meet the recreational and tourist needs of the increasingly prosperous and mobile Canadian population was a “basic factor in the establishment of new parks in the Maritimes and other parts of the country”. Murphy (1983) agrees, asserting “there is little doubt that Canada has attempted to create symbiotic relationships between its parks and tourism”, particularly with the period of

extensive park acquisition and development in the 1960s and 1970s (Murphy 1983:235).⁶⁶ Eidsvik (1983:242) also notes that the thrust over this period was to put into place an organisation which could respond to the growing public pressure for outdoor recreation opportunities (as well as protecting the nation's natural and historic resources). In the mid 1960s there were some important developments with respect to outdoor recreation in Canada. In 1966, a nation wide report on national parks and outdoor recreation opportunities was released, and following this in 1967, the Parks Branch became involved in the Canadian Outdoor Recreation Demand study or CORD as it was known (Lothian 1977). This was run in co-operation with provinces. The growing significance of outdoor recreation in Canada at the time, and the involvement of the Parks Branch in researching 'outdoor recreation needs' contributed to the perception that national parks were to be the major provider of outdoor *recreation* opportunities.

Also there was great deal of political pressure for the creation and subsequent development of national parks over the 1960s and 1970s. Politically, the establishment of national parks within their electorates was seen as a good thing by politicians (Marty 1984). Parks brought with them the opportunity for economic development, expansion and employment, all of which naturally reflected upon the incumbent member of parliament. Consequently, MPs were keen to see not only the establishment of national parks but also the development of tourism facilities within these parks. For example, during the 1950s accommodation was built at the Bay of Fundy National Park as an employment measure by the Department of Resources and Development, and the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (Lothian 1977).

Over this period, the role of the provinces and territories in applying pressure on the federal government to permit greater development within the national parks already established, was significant. For example, in 1969 the Director of the Travel Bureau in Alberta called for more development in national parks: "There were thousands of square miles elsewhere in Banff and Jasper [National] Parks, which were incomprehensibly left undeveloped" (DIAND 1969). Provinces were eager for roads to be built through parks, because of the potential tourism returns, and because within parks the cost of road building was covered 100% by the federal government, rather than just the 50% contribution outside parks (Bella 1987:109).

The role of parks in regional economic development was fairly overt, especially during the period under the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, when one of the Parks Branch's responsibilities was to participate in the Department's stated goal of stimulating the development of tourism, particularly to provide employment and economic

⁶⁶ To illustrate this rate of expansion, in the 30 years prior to 1968, new parks were established at a rate of one every ten years - during the next 5 years, ten new national parks were established (Murphy 1983:242).

opportunity for native northerners (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1972). In the mid 1970s, during the time that Judd Buchanan (now Chair of the Canadian Tourism Commission) was Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Parks Canada undertook a five year \$376 million capital development programme to renovate or replace facilities established in national parks and to expand facilities where needed (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs 1979). One view of this situation is that the price to be paid for loss of extractable resources which were now locked up in new national parks, was the development of core destination areas for the tourism industry (Eidsvik 1983).

The 1970s brought changes to the parks agency and the management of parks, especially following the transfer of the agency to the Department of the Environment (Environment Canada). In the 1970s the Canadian Parks Service began to focus more on environmental issues and to include more environmental groups in its planning process as (Hildebrandt in BBVTF 1996:393). A new emphasis emerged on the Environmental Assessment and Review Process (introduced in 1973) that covered for example all developments on federal land, including national parks. Further to this, it appeared that a change in organisational values had occurred within the Canadian Park Service. In a study comparing the CPS with America's National Park Service (NPS) conducted during the period that parks were within Environment Canada, Lowry (1987:50) found that employees in the CPS considered that their agency's decisions increasingly reflected concern for natural conditions whereas most NPS employees described their agency as becoming more susceptible to political demands for utilisation of parks. Lowry also examined zoning in parks and policies for recreation and commercial developments, and concluded that the perceptions of employees corresponded with structural and behavioural change over the preceding 20 years: CPS employees were reversing decades of emphasis on recreation and commercial development (Lowry 1987).

While this research appears to reveal a shifting emphasis over this period, it is not clear how firm this shift actually was. For example, in the late 1970s park managers were concerned more with a *decline* in tourism numbers in many parks, accompanied by huge increases in tour bus traffic in parts of the park system at the same time (Eidsvik 1983:249). So it appears that Parks Canada's rather complex relationship with tourism continued.

8.4.1 Canada's recent fiscal situation and the role of park tourism

In the 1990s, however, economic considerations have shaped the response by the parks agency to tourism. Canada's less favourable economic position has been a significant factor in defining the way that tourism, as a park use, has been considered by the parks organisation. The recession of the early 1990s placed a greater emphasis on federal debt reduction, which entailed further reductions in the budgets of federal agencies (Johnstone and Stritch 1996). It

was anticipated that by 1996/97, federal programme spending would be reduced to 13.1 percent of GDP, the lowest level since 1951, and that the size of the Public Service would be reduced by 45,000 (Department of Canadian Heritage 1996a). This debt-reduction drive has been reinforced by centrally-driven calls for departments to further reduce operational costs by entering into partnerships, and to examine their revenue-generating (self-funding) capacities. In 1994 the federal government released “Building a More Innovative Economy” as a major policy paper (Government of Canada 1994). The paper contained 27 initiatives to improve the climate for the private sector to create employment and raise Canadian living standards. Initiative 19 was the National Tourism Initiative, which involved creating the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC), increasing funding for tourism marketing, *and* making better use of the government’s tourism assets.

In 1995 the Department of Canadian Heritage reported on its contribution to these goals, noting co-operation with the CTC and other tourism agencies. The main achievement, however, was the implementation of the Heritage Tourism Programme, in which the Department would develop and market heritage tourism experiences based on Canada’s cultural and natural heritage, and thus “contribute to increased tourism-related economic activity and employment” (Department of Canadian Heritage 1995a:2). Working towards this goal would also contribute simultaneously to one of the Department’s main goals, that of building awareness and support for Canada’s heritage.

The Heritage Tourism Programme was co-ordinated by the Heritage Tourism Secretariat, which had been established in 1994 (Parks Canada interview 3). The Department also led the development of a Travel Trade Manual and “How To” manual on heritage tourism in western and northern Canada, (with Industry Canada), took active part in international trade shows, and was a major participant in a widely distributed travel magazine featuring many heritage sites. Parks Canada, contributed to these initiatives, passively (as caretaker for the parks and sites) and actively through its involvement with the Heritage Tourism Secretariat.

Also in 1994, the Department of Canadian Heritage became a signatory to a Western Economic Diversification (WED) (a federal organisation) initiative to develop an initiative in eco-tourism in the north and west. The Department (and more specifically Parks Canada) was seen as a key player in assisting WED to develop tourism strategies, and in brokering some key partnerships that could be supported by this programme. Parks Canada recognised that it needed to ascertain its roles in relation to Tourism Canada, Partners West (the federal partnership supporting WED in the ecotourism initiative), and potential industry partners. Together these federal influences have provided some additional impetus for Parks Canada to

engage in further tourism investigative activities, such as the Ecotourism Opportunity Analysis initiated by its Ecotourism Steering Committee in 1994 (Parks Canada 1994c).

A 1995 memorandum from the Heritage Tourism Secretariat to Industry Canada outlined how the Department of Canadian Heritage could contribute to the tourism marketing of Canada, in a number of areas: heritage tourism products; product development; consumer communications; trade promotion; and co-operative marketing (Department of Canadian Heritage 1995c). The latter, for example, described how each of the six regional offices of the Department were establishing tourism action plans. The role of national parks is mentioned in a number of these areas. The memo goes on to list specific potential contributions to the CTC Proposed Domestic Marketing Strategy, including offering the use of the current product/market information base, experienced staff of research professionals, along with Parks Canada brochures, articles, film footage and still imagery. The memo also outlines the potential of cross-marketing heritage travel attractions through its existing network of attractions.

Over the history of national parks in Canada, the parks agency has demonstrated a number of significant changes in its approach towards the issue of tourism. Initially, the parks agency worked towards establishing and maintaining a symbiotic relationship with tourism, and thus the image of parks as 'pleasure grounds' was created. By the 1960s, the parks agency was perceived to be one of the key providers of outdoor recreation opportunities. This role of meeting the increasing demand for tourism and recreation opportunities, although partly imposed on the organisation by provincial and federal political interests and priorities, also appeared to be intrinsically adopted by the organisation itself. By the 1970s this former role was less well defined and accepted, and the next twenty years are characterised by changes in policy and practice shifting the relationship between tourism and preservation more in favour of the latter. However, by the early 1990s, macro-economic pressures had brought pressure to bear on the relationship, and the parks agency had to some extent been caught up in a flurry of federal activity and initiatives aimed at addressing the federal deficit (partly) through increased emphasis on tourism and greater use of federal tourism assets. With these changes, a renewed emphasis on partnerships between the parks agency and tourism interests was witnessed.

8.4.2 Significant steps in tourism policy development in national parks and their impact on relationships

Over the late 1950s and 1960s, as a result of increased prosperity and resultant mobility of the North American people, tourism in parks grew dramatically. This was a period in which parks access and facilities were being actively constructed, in response to domestic and international

demands for outdoor recreation experiences, coupled with implicit regional development objectives.

This intense period of development served as a catalyst for a protectionist movement for parks: the 1960s witnessed a growing awareness amongst a sector of the public of the need to protect parks from inappropriate development. Interest groups formed to lobby the government for more protectionist policies in parks (CPAWS 1999).

However, the dominance of utility over preservation was not challenged until the early 1970's, in what Marsh (1983:282) describes as "one of the most important confrontations in Canada's conservation history", bringing the issue of tourism development in national parks to national attention. Again the site for this challenge was Banff National Park, the classic 'testing ground' for any development in Canadian national park policy. The challenge came about as a result of proposals in 1971 to hold the Winter Olympics at Banff, which would necessitate the further development of skifields in the park.⁶⁷ The development would centre around the existing Lake Louise ski area.⁶⁸ This was the initiative that sparked environmental groups into action. Ski developments had until that time fitted in with national parks policy. However the owners of the Lake Louise ski area saw the potential that hosting the 1972 Winter Olympics had in terms of increasing their profile and capacity. Environmental groups, however, considered such a development at odds with protection of the park's natural values (BBVTF 1996). Marsh (1983) believes that a key influence at this time was the American concern with crowding in national parks, which had reached very high levels in sites such as Yosemite and the Grand Canyon, with associated degradation of these sites, and that this concern had spread to Canada.

Despite these concerns, the development proposal was supported by the federal and provincial (Alberta) governments, and by the National Park Service. The Canadian Government Travel Bureau contributed to the debate by predicting huge growth in the numbers of skiers from America - planning for the development proceeded (National and Historic Parks Branch 1972). The National and Provincial Parks Association (NPPAC) demanded public hearings on the issue, which drew huge media attention, becoming a national issue. About two hundred briefs were presented at the hearings, seventy percent of which were opposed to the development. Environmental NGOs (ENGOS) were well represented at the hearings, as were tourism interests. Both the Tourism Industry Association of Canada and the Federal Office of Tourism (Travel Industry Branch, Department of Industry Trade and Commerce) provided

⁶⁷ This was one of three proposals at different times, to hold the winter Olympics at Banff National Park, in 1964, 1968 and then 1972.

⁶⁸ Lake Louise is one of several skifields within the park, the total ski area being over 7500 acres (Banff -Lake Louise Tourism Bureau 2000).

briefs, the latter asserting that “national parks must respond to the needs and desires...rights of Canadians to recreate themselves” (National and Historic Parks Branch 1972).

However, ultimately the proposal was rejected by Jean Chretien the Minister responsible for parks, as being too big for the location and socially too exclusive for the mandate of national parks (National and Historic Parks Branch 1972:15). The consequences of this decision were many: primarily the increased power of ENGOs and a legitimisation of their role in parks planning; “heightened tensions between ENGOs and developers” (National and Historic Parks Branch 1972:394); the credibility of the National Parks Service suffering - both with developers and other groups; and a poisoning of further planning processes with respect to similar developments in national parks (National and Historic Parks Branch 1972:394). Nelson (1989:89) also credits developments at this time as being responsible for “elevation of the classical wilderness concept to a position of new eminence in Canada”, the concept becoming more widely known and employed in park planning throughout the country.

Also, partly as result of the above debacle, public consultation became a more integral part of parks planning. The 1979 Parks Policy reflected this, and according to Hildebrandt (in BBVTF 1996:394) became a much stronger policy instrument because of this, providing Parks Canada with the strength required to deflect often strongly politically supported development proposals.

However, concerns that the planning process and relationships concerning skifield developments in particular have become somewhat soured has been aptly demonstrated by cases as recently as 1996. At this time Parks Canada was challenged legally about the future development of Sunshine Valley, another skifield located in Banff National Park. The Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (previously the NPPAC, and a significant actor in the 1972 Winter Olympics reversal) successfully challenged the legality of the decision to allow further development of the skifield, resulting in a court decision requiring a full environmental assessment of the proposal (Vancouver Sun 1996).

8.4.3 Banff as a special case?

The debate over appropriate use of Banff National Park has been ongoing since the 1960s. And while Banff definitely is an anomaly in the park system, with its large town site and the level of tourism, it is also significant; that is, the controversies that arise there, and the decisions that are made, may have ramifications for the rest of the parks in the system. In many ways, Banff represents a ‘concentrated’ microcosm for many of the central issues, debates and relationships within the park-tourism domain.

For example, a particular bone of contention has been the growth of the town site. Although several other Canadian parks have town sites, none are the size of Banff or continue to develop as Banff does, attributable in part to the intense domestic and international tourism promotion that the site receives. Banff town site has grown over the years to accommodate the huge increase in visitor numbers, with a current residential population of approximately 7,600. There are over 5,600 hotel rooms, 60 restaurants and 175 speciality shops with more than 1,300 businesses licensed to operate in the park (BBVTF 1996). Most of this development is located in the Banff-Bow Valley, part of a montane eco-region, which is highly significant for wildlife locally, regionally and internationally, forming part of the “Y-Y” or Yukon to Yellowstone corridor of natural areas. Currently development encroaches on 20% of this montane ecoregion (BBVTF 1996:1).

In the 1960s the Parks Branch went head to head with local residents over the rights of residents to renew leases within the town site. The Parks Branch was adamant that expiring leases were not up for renewal. The case for the residents and tourism interests in the town was taken up by the Alberta provincial government, Premier Manning arguing that the Parks Branch actions would “detrimentally affect the development of the tourist industry of Alberta” (Lothian 1977:71). The issue ended in court and a decision favouring the residents granted, although the larger issue of governance of the town continued to remain a concern.

As far back as the early 1960s the Glassco Royal Commission had criticised the lack of autonomy of the Banff township, however it wasn’t until 1990 that control of the town was transferred from the Canadian Parks Service, with the town becoming incorporated. However, this decision was not to prevent further conflict over appropriate development, with park managers consistently being caught between the aspirations of environmental groups and the tourism dominated business community (BBVTF 1996:15). Conflict between the two groups rose to the point when in 1994 the Minister for Canadian Heritage appointed the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force to undertake an in depth analysis of the situation and draft a vision for the future of Banff National Park.

In 1996 the Task Force’s report was released, with over 500 recommendations and a clear emphasis on maintaining ecological integrity in the park. Specific recommendations included a freeze on development in the townsite, caps on population and accommodation capacities, and a raft of recommendations aimed at improving the functioning of the Banff-Bow Valley as a wildlife corridor (BBVTF 1996). Many of these recommendations formed the basis for, and have been implemented through the 1997 Banff National Park Management Plan. A number of recommendations may have implications for other parks, for example, the renewed emphasis on specified environmental standards contained within the plan.

Although the Task Force report was welcomed by environmental groups, it was criticised by development interests. ENGOs views that parks policy had historically been applied inconsistently were confirmed by the findings of the Task Force, which attributed this partly to the role of Ministerial lobbying by development interests in the past, effectively short-circuiting the management planning process and politicising decisions.⁶⁹ Milward and Draper (1996:106) in a comprehensive study of policy and territory in Banff, confirm that “although the Canadian Parks Service is the decision making authority for the park, pro-development policies of both the Alberta provincial government and Tourism Canada play a role in promoting and supporting tourism development within the park environment”. Their analysis of policy identified what they term as “tourism developmental ideology” which prevailed during the “discovery days” (presumably 1880s-1900s?) existing alongside managers’ attempts to provide for conservation (Milward and Draper 1996:106). This position continued until the 1960s when large volumes of tourists required an assertion of the “conservation ideology”, which itself gained prevalence through the 1980s reaching a high point in 1988 with the amendment to the National Parks Act identifying the primacy of ecological integrity.

The Banff example is in a sense a microcosmic illustration of the wider transitions in parks policy described above. These views fit with the historical analysis of Canadian national parks policy, in which again we see a primarily pro-development ideology reigning until the assertion of protective policies post 1964 (Rounthwaite 1982). What is most significant about Milward and Draper’s analysis, however, is that for the first time, Canada’s national tourism organisation has been explicitly identified as having had a significant role in promoting this development ideology, and that this role has impacted on the way that tourism is manifested in a park in reality.

It is significant to note that different periods have been identified by different commentators as being the period when protective policies became dominant in national parks (e.g. Rounthwaite 1982; Milward and Draper 1996). These periods range from 1964 through to the late 1980s. It appears that a number of factors have shaped this, including regional variations in park development, personal interpretations of policy by individual park superintendents, even the power of the local tourism lobby. However, while the trend towards protectionism is identifiable through policy, it is also evident that despite a written protectionist policy, an ad-hoc application of policy regarding tourism developments across the system prevailed over this prolonged period.

⁶⁹ “Ted Hart, in an interview with Walter Hildebrand describes this as the \$139 solution - the cost of a flight to Ottawa [the seat of the Minister]” (BBVTF 1996:16).

This brief sketch of the complex situation at Banff National Park is useful for illustrating a number of points that have relevance to system-wide policy and system-wide stakeholder relations. Throughout the recent history of the park, the parks agency could consistently be described as the 'meat in the sandwich', caught between interests advocating preservation and others supporting development. And while policy development at Banff does reflect that documented across the parks system in terms of an increasing emphasis on ecological integrity, there are indications that tourism development concerns have up until very recently dominated the preservation-use debate. Among these concerns, both the provincial government (Alberta) and the federal government through the actions of the NTO, Tourism Canada, have been identified as parties playing significant roles. The power of the development interests involved in this debate is such that it has taken a Ministerial appointed task force to take stock and effectively support the parks agency in its attempts to implement more ecologically sustainable policies in the park. What is apparent from the Banff example is that in terms of the positions of the key stakeholders, relations have often been adversarial. The recent task force approach whilst a fine example of a co-operative and inclusive process has done little to allay this sense of conflict, with certain stakeholders exhibiting a high degree of dissatisfaction with the process and the outcomes (Jamal 1999).

8.4.4 Parks' evolving relationship with tourism

National parks stakeholders in Canada could be forgiven for being somewhat confused by Parks Canada's attitudes to tourism, as over the past two decades there have been substantial, and at times conflicting, changes in this respect. As late as 1969, the major concern of the National Parks Service was in being able to meet the demand for leisure. The organisation sought policy flexibility which would allow it to cope with user needs through "developing the parks into a comprehensive system capable of coping with these demands" (Dept of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1969:n.p.). From the 1970s onwards, official policy documents demonstrate an overall trend of increased emphasis on ecological integrity and wariness towards tourism development, particularly after the transfer of Parks Canada to Environment Canada in 1979.

However, during the mid to late 1980s, Parks Canada and then the CPS engaged in (reverted to?) marketing the parks for tourism. This is seemingly contradictory given the overall trend in policy and practice outlined above. This is associated partly with the increased power and presence of the Socio-Economic Division of the organisation, which undertook work on developing a marketing strategy for the national parks. However, to some extent this was also a grass-roots movement within the organisation. In 1984 there was a call from the annual national park Superintendents' Conference for "a strong national marketing strategy" for parks, in order to bolster public support for Parks Canada in its work (Parks Canada 1985:2).

The superintendents suggested that Tourism Canada be approached for assistance. In that year, Parks Canada commissioned a study of the potential travel market for Parks Canada's "products" in the United States (Marketfacts of Canada Ltd, 1984).

Much of the work that was done by the CPS in this respect was also largely prompted, or at least conformed to the federal government's "environment-economy" thrust at the time (which itself was a response to international influences such as the Brundtland Report). In 1988, the CPS undertook a national market study of over 2000 Canadians to provide information for developing programme marketing strategies (CPS 1990). Various regional marketing initiatives were also undertaken, and marketing training and inter-agency activities took place. This was perhaps the most intense period of interorganisational relations between the CPS and Tourism Canada. Tourism Canada, and the CGOT before it, since the late 1970s, had been calling for national parks to play a greater role in tourism in Canada. By the mid-1980s, this unrelenting 'policy-badgering' approach may have paid off, and in fact been a significant contributing factor in terms of the parks organisation making efforts in the marketing area.

The demise of this period in the early 1990s may be attributed to a number of factors. First, that there was a certain amount of internal resistance from some parks staff to the concept of marketing parks for tourism. Secondly, programme cutbacks had major effects on the Socio-Economic Division that was co-ordinating much of this work, and progress on a visitor strategy simply became a lower priority. Thirdly, the new National Parks Act, with its emphasis on ecological integrity, provided a strong and public basis from which interest groups opposed to tourism development could work, and acted to quell the organisation's interest in that area. The last manifestation of this interest was the National Marketing Strategy for 1990/91 – 1993/94, produced by the Marketing Branch in 1990 (CPS 1990).

But even during the period of marketing initiatives, the organisation was producing some strongly worded responses to development proposals in parks: for example, the CPS response to the 1989 Sunshine Village (Banff National Park) Ski Area Long Range Development Plan, concludes that the proposal "involves serious environmental impacts and is in contravention of National Park policy and the Banff National Park Management Plan" (CPS 1989:45).⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Interestingly, that year, a "Utilisation Study" of the Rocky Mountain National Parks was undertaken, jointly by the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (Tourism Canada's home department), with Alberta and British Columbia governments' tourist organisations. This document fails to identify any significant ecological consequences in its proposals to increase tourism in these parks. The significance or otherwise of the CPS not being a co-publisher is debateable, although their contribution to the study is acknowledged (British Columbia Ministry of Tourism et al 1989).

8.5 Summary

This brief history of the parks agency, and in particular its approach to tourism within the national parks, has identified a number of key points, many of which are salient to a study of the agency's relationships, and of co-ordination in this policy domain. The parks agency's initial relationship with tourism, and tourism interests was shaped through the necessity of generating a high public and (therefore political) profile in order for the park system to survive, at a time of economic hardship. The role of parks in tourism became accepted and ingrained, a role with which the parks agency was very comfortable with for a considerable period of time (Rounthwaite's (1982) "Age of the Concession"). With the rise in environmental awareness during the 1960s and 1970s, public perceptions of the role of parks changed. The parks agency's dual role of protection and use was challenged, and a consequence of this was a changing policy environment in which the agency increasingly cast itself in a more protectionist role.

This protectionist role, however, was in practice adopted only on an *ad hoc* basis, and it wasn't until the amended 1988 parks legislation and 1994 policy that this role was confirmed. Over the intervening period, both internal and external influences resulted in the parks agency having an uncertain relationship with tourism.

To some extent, parks policy has been subjugated by overarching policies that have defined the agency's tourism role. The nature of these delimiting policies has depended upon the agency's parent organisation, and where it fits into the federal government's broader economic, social and political goals. For example, during the period with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, regional economic development policies were paramount, whereas with the Department of Canadian Heritage, heritage promotion policies have been influential. And significantly, during the period when the agency was with Environment Canada, the influence of sustainable development policies was manifested mainly through a perceived greater role for the agency in contributing towards federal economic goals through park tourism.

Along with wider policy issues, other organisations have been identified as influencing the way that the parks agency interacts with tourism. One of these bodies has been Canada's national tourism organisation, which over the last thirty years has played a consistent role in calling for greater tourism access to national parks. The federal-provincial equation is also significant in this respect, the importance of parks as a regional economic bonus not being lost on provincial governments. To some extent, these bodies, along with the wider tourism industry, because of historic precedents still perceive a traditional role for tourism in the

national parks – a perception that has resulted, because of the amended policy environment, in contemporary conflict with the parks agency.

A further significant development, especially with respect to the agency's relations with other park-tourism stakeholders, has been a greater permeability of the organisation's boundaries, a phenomenon that has been increasingly apparent since public hearings became a policy requirement in the late 1960s. While on the surface it appears that this development may have been more important to the agency's relationships with environmental interests than with the already established tourism interests, this point will be discussed in Chapter Twelve.

Most recently, the fiscal operating environment of the parks agency, with its greater emphasis on self funding, has led the agency to revisit its relationship with tourism and tourism interests. This development may be at odds with a policy environment characterised by an increasing emphasis on ecological integrity, and it appears that the agency faces strong opposition to any perceived misapplication of this policy, with some bitterly-fought and ongoing battles over tourism development still being waged, some in courts of law. The research environment is also characterised by uncertainty, where the parks organisation has been restructured a number of times recently, and could be said to be in a state of turmoil. This environment of uncertainty extends to staff, who are reportedly demoralised by ongoing funding and staffing cuts and uncertainty prevailing around the format of the proposed free-standing Parks Canada Agency (Parks Canada 1997e).

8.5.1 The parks agency and interorganisational relations

In terms of the interorganisational relationships of the parks agency, a number of facilitating and inhibiting factors may be observed operating over different periods in the agency's history. Initially in a period of resource scarcity, the agency was prompted to enter into exchange – based relationships with tourism interests. In order to build its constituency, the parks agency offered the resource of *authority*, to provide access to the parks for tourism development, and received in exchange, a degree of political and economic stability. This relationship was fostered through a supportive *leadership* for a substantial period, starting with Harkin and continuing through to the 1960s under subsequent Directors – a period over which coincidence of values with the tourism industry and regional governments prevailed, and was manifested in expanded facilities and enhanced access to parks.

During this period, the national park – tourism domain could be described as being one with a high degree of consensus, and reasonably developed or organised, but perhaps from the parks agency's perspective the linkages involved were not particularly well formalised, standardised or co-ordinated. Much of the relationship occurred in an *ad hoc* manner.

Over the 1960s, several policy developments impacted on the national park- tourism domain. To a degree, these developments were imposed upon the parks agency by the federal government, and thus through *necessity*, the agency was required to facilitate relationships with outside interests, this period being characterised by a substantial change to the permeability of its organisational boundaries. These developments included the first statement of national park policy, the rise of the planning section, and the advent of a public hearing process for park planning. Suddenly, the coincidence of values within the domain was not quite as comprehensive as it had been, with the new policy expressing a modified role for tourism in parks. The planning section and public hearings developments meant that the parks agency were now providing institutional arrangements for the inclusion of other stakeholders within the domain. These new stakeholders held antithetical values to the tourism interests, and for a period, antithetical to the parks agency themselves who continued in practice to foster development. This was also an attempt to formalise linkages with tourism interests through an accepted policy process.

From the early 1970s in particular, with the increased power of environmental groups, the domain could be said to be in transition from organisation to underorganisation, as stakeholders possessing divergent values attempted to gain legitimacy. For much of the 1970s and 1980s this condition of underorganisation continued, but with changes to the position of the parks agency (move to Environment Canada) and legislation (amended National Parks Act), environmental interests gained increasing legitimacy within the domain, to some degree at the expense of tourism interests.

From the mid 1980s, operating on reducing budgets became the norm for the parks agency, cuts becoming substantial by the early 1990s, with a correspondingly greater emphasis on revenue generation through tourism. Thus resource scarcity again activated the critical contingency of reciprocity with the parks agency seeking enhanced relations with tourism interests. Developing a more formalised relationship with tourism interests such as the national tourism organisation, and with greater *intensity* in terms of the commitment of resources to that relationship may offer the parks agency a greater degree of economic and political stability than maintaining its more traditional isolated stance. Structural changes to the parks agency in it achieving Special Operating Agency status may further facilitate business partnerships with tourism interests, because of it now possessing greater similarity in function and structure to those interests. Finally, although the relationship between the parks agency and tourism interests has achieved a greater stability, because of a perceived coincidence of values, a consequence of this has may be a deterioration in the relationship with environmental groups.

The following chapter will address Canada's national tourism organisation. An examination of the history of the development of the NTO, its role with respect to national park tourism and the development of its relationship with the parks agency will provide further historical context to the study of the two organisation's current relationship.

Chapter 9: The National Tourism Organisation

9.1 Establishment and growth of the National Tourism Organisation

This chapter charts the establishment and growth of Canada's national tourism organisation, outlining its roles, particularly in regard to national park tourism, over time. As outlined in Chapter Two, the national tourism organisation may have a potentially significant impact on the way in which tourism is manifested in protected natural areas such as national parks. First, they often use images of these areas for national promotional purposes. Second, through product development initiatives, they can encourage tourism development within and adjacent to parks. Third, through policy advocacy, they can influence the position of the parks agency with respect to allowing or encouraging visitation and tourism development within the national parks.

National Tourism Organisations (NTOs) have a variety of roles, and usually this includes some policy roles. In Chapter Five, the role of Canada's NTO with respect to sustainable tourism development was discussed, and it was noted that this had changed over time. This chapter will examine the implications of a changing policy environment on Canada's NTO, along with the consequent impact of changing NTO policy on national park tourism and the NTO's relations with the parks agency. In order to contextualise the current relationship, a brief historical analysis of the NTO – parks agency relationship is undertaken.

9.1.1 Historical precursors: initial tourism promotion undertaken by Parks Branch

The Canadian Travel Bureau (CTB), Canada's first national tourism organisation, was established in 1934 by the Federal Government.⁷¹ The Bureau was initially a part of the Department of Railways and Canals, reflecting the importance of rail travel to the tourist industry at the time, and also the dependent relationship on other initiatives nationally. The organisation soon transferred to the Department of Transport, reflecting in part, the growing significance of other forms of travel, such as automobiles (National Archive n.d.).

Up until this time, (as discussed in Chapter Eight) the role of promoting the prime scenic attractions of Canada had fallen upon the willing hands of JB Harkin's Parks Branch. Harkin had called for the creation of a national tourism agency since 1917, and in response to the lack of federal response, had established his own publicity division within the Parks Branch of the

⁷¹ Prior to the creation of the CTB there existed a Canadian Motion Picture Bureau, and a Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, both of which were to some degree precursors of the CTB (National Archive n.d.).

Department of the Interior (Lothian 1977). In 1924, encouraged by financial returns from tourism, the Department of the Interior introduced a programme to ensure that “the tourist and holiday attractions of all parts of the Dominion are brought to the notice of the travelling public abroad” (Dept of Interior 1925:n.p.). This was presumably part of Harkin’s initiative to link tourism with the objective of enhancing the protection of the fledgling park system. Upon the establishment of the CTB and the National Film Board most of the functions and staff of the Parks Branch Publicity Division were transferred to the new organisations (Lothian 1977).

Since its inception, the place of the Travel Bureau within the bureaucracy was subject to debate and change. For example, before World War Two, the Bureau was with the Department of Transport, then during the Second World War its parent department was the Department of War Services. The CTB then transferred to the Department of Trade and Commerce at the end of the war. In 1947 the CTB was renamed the Canadian Government Travel Bureau (CGTB). Then, in 1948 the Bureau transferred to the Department of Reconstruction and Supply, and in 1950 to the Department of Resources and Development. By 1953 it had shifted to the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, and in 1962 was transferred back to the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce, where it has primarily remained in one form or another up to the present point of time (National Archive n.d.).

The shifts prior to and immediately after WWII demonstrate the influence of shifting technology and development issues, the application and lifting of travel restrictions, along with economic reconstruction. However, the most significant part of all this to-ing and fro-ing was that for the period 1950 to 1962, the CGTB was in the same federal department as the National and Historic Parks Branch, when both interests were represented by the same Minister of the Crown. Despite the above mobility, the position of Canada’s national tourism organisation within the federal structure indicates a lengthy recognition of the role of tourism in regional development, or as an ‘industry’ – although the scale of this role has grown somewhat. The move alongside the Parks Branch in 1950 perhaps should not be misconstrued as a conscious move to establish an early partnership between the organisations, but rather simple continued recognition of the resource development role of the NTO: Northern Affairs and Natural Resources was a large department, with primarily a development role. In 1950, tourism was yet to be an issue in parks, with visitor numbers (and revenue generation) in most parks being quite low – so the imperative for such a link was probably not altogether clear. By the early 1960s, however, domestic and international tourism had become more significant to Canada, and the move to the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce was likely influenced by this trend, as well as by the findings of the influential Glassco Royal Commission on government organisation, which resulted in many significant changes (Kernaghan and Siegel 1991). The shift to the Department of Trade Industry and Commerce

was, however an important shift as it signals the direct link between tourism and revenue generation, or more complete recognition of tourism as an 'industry'.

9.1.2 Growth of the National Tourism Organisation

During World War Two it was the policy of the government to discourage pleasure travel to or in Canada for security reasons, and, in accordance with this policy, the Bureau (CGTB) did not enter the direct marketing field (Department of Trade and Commerce 1946). However by 1947, the CGTB had resumed normal operations, staff numbers growing from 15 the year before to 31, and budget increased from \$40,000 to \$768,000. The role of the CGTB was defined as "Direction of Government advertising and other promotional activities, provision of information services and co-operation with provincial and other travel bureau" (Department of Trade and Commerce 1947:n.p.).

By the 1960s, the CGTB's budget had grown substantially. By 1964, the CGTB had 21 offices outside Canada, including 14 in the USA, four in Europe, and others in Sydney, Mexico and Tokyo. Its budget that year was \$4.9 million, with a staffing level of 177 (Department of Trade and Commerce 1965). By 1971 the Canadian Government Office of Tourism had 24 offices outside Canada, with a budget of \$11 million. During that year 37.6 million foreign visitors to Canada spent an estimated \$1.2 billion and contributed to the employment of 780,000 people.

In 1969, a reorganisation saw the creation of the Canadian Government Office of Tourism (CGOT). This restructured organisation under the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce had a dual role, continuing the marketing role of publicising Canada as a tourism destination (through the CGTB), and also encouraging the development of the tourism industry, through its Travel Industry Branch. In the words of the CGOT, "now that tourists were being stimulated to travel to Canada, it was necessary to assure that they would not be disappointed with the experience" (CGOT 1972:12). The CGOT was responsible for initiating and managing the Travel Industry Development Programme. Its primary roles were to provide information to travel industry operators regarding the various existing federal programmes and sources of financing which relate to tourism, and to assist in travel industry development planning through administering a fund to assist in the development and implementation of tourism feasibility studies and plans in the provinces and territories.⁷² For the first time since its inception, Canada's NTO was now also to encourage Canadians to 'stay at home' for their holidays, \$1M being allocated in the organisation's 1971 budget for this purpose (CGOT 1973). To aid the achievement of these goals, the Cabinet in 1972 authorised the preparation of a Master Plan to guide the growth and promotion of tourism in Canada.

⁷² Several provinces at this stage had already received funding from the Department of Regional Economic Expansion to undertake such planning studies.

A further reorganisation of the Office of Tourism in 1973, resulted in tourism attaining its own Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM), and three branches being created: the Tourism Industry Branch, the Tourism Marketing Branch, and the Policy, Planning and Industry Relations Branch.⁷³ The appointment of its own ADM could be seen as a further sign of the ‘coming of age’ of the tourism industry in Canada, and recognition of its significance by the Federal Government. Up until that time, the CGTB had been represented at the top tier by its Director General.

A Treasury Board review of the CGOT in 1978 recognised a greater need for a central policy group. This group, the Policy, Planning and Co-ordination Branch, was created that year and would also play an important role as the “focal point...for formal liaison and co-ordination with CGOT’s major contacts i.e. other government departments, the private sector etc.” (CGOT 1982:39). One goal was to co-ordinate tourism related activities with other federal departments, and within the Branch, a Co-ordination Secretariat was formed to assist for these purposes. The Secretariat co-ordinated the Interdepartmental Committee on Tourism.

In 1980 the CGOT was under the auspices of the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce. The office then was composed of two branches, the Tourism Marketing Branch, and the Tourism Development Branch. The role of the former is self explanatory, and the latter aimed to “identify and solve tourism problems, and contribute to strategic planning for the industry” (CGOT 1980:11). During this period, tourism was represented in cabinet by the Minister of Small Business and Tourism. In 1980, the Department of External Affairs would take over responsibility for the United States and overseas implementation of Canada’s international tourism marketing programme. This would later become known as External Affairs and International Trade Canada.

In 1984, Tourism Canada was established, basically carrying on the role of the previous CGOT but with a set of more explicit objectives. The emphasis was on linking together a diverse industry through a number of activities including product enhancement, market development, a commercial intelligence programme, policy and liaison, and strategic planning. There now appeared to be a greater emphasis placed upon “improved co-ordination between the levels of government and the private sector” than there was previously with either the CGTB or the CGOT (Tourism Canada 1988:8). Tourism Canada’s activities in support of tourism fell within three broad areas: advocacy, business services and international marketing.

⁷³ In Canada, the Chief Executive of a government department or ministry has the non-political position of Deputy Minister (DM). Supporting this person are the Assistant Deputy Ministers. The DM and ADM positions are seen to be extremely influential.

International marketing became a shared activity between Tourism Canada and External Affairs and International Trade Canada which continued its mandate for the delivery of tourism marketing programs abroad through its tourism personnel stationed at posts in the United States and overseas (Hawkins 1993:3). The CGOT transferred to the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion in 1984, and following this, in 1986, the newly formed Tourism Canada moved to Industry Science and Technology Canada.⁷⁴

In summary, over the post WWII period we observe changes in the position of Canada's NTO within the federal structure that are reflected in the organisation's functions, and objectives. With macro scale social, political and economic changes, and the growing significance of both domestic and international tourism to Canada, the role of tourism as an industry had become increasingly evident from the 1960s through to the 1980s. As tourism grew in Canada, there became less emphasis on providing a 'service' to the tourists, for example, in providing an interesting recreational experience in a natural setting, and greater emphasis on *what the tourist could provide Canada* in terms of foreign exchange and expenditure. Accompanying this was an enhanced focus on a range of resources as the commodity base of this industry. It is salient to contrast the changes in structure and affiliation of the NTO with those of the national parks agency occurring over this period: with the former we observe an increase in industrialisation or commodification of resources, and, with the latter, a marked move *away* from parks as commodities is observed, with a greater recognition of their intrinsic natural value.

9.1.3 Tourism Canada

During the 1980s and the early 1990s Tourism Canada was the main federal public agency in Canada undertaking international tourism marketing. A significant policy output from Tourism Canada in 1990 was the "Tourism on the Threshold" document, which contained a statement of federal tourism policy, within which the government recognised that the tourism industry was a strategic sector of the Canadian economy, making an essential contribution to the economic objectives of the government (Industry Science and Technology Canada 1990). In the section of this document entitled "Federal tourism agenda for the 1990s" several key areas were identified. One of these was product development, and a priority there was the "maximisation of tourist development opportunities existing in selected properties owned by the Government of Canada", with a focus on four season development, development of the surrounding areas of selected national parks, and adventure product development in wilderness or remote areas (Industry Science and Technology Canada 1990:32). To this end, a co-

⁷⁴ Industry Science and Technology Canada is the federal department charged with "the development of national policies and programs designed to strengthen the economy, increase the international competitiveness of Canadian industry, and encourage the fullest and most efficient use of science and technology in Canada" (Hawkins 1993:3)

ordinated approach was promoted, including with other federal departments. Joint planning with Environment Canada to “identify opportunities for...provision of further service facilities within certain national parks” was specified (Industry Science and Technology Canada 1990:32). The policy also confirmed the federal government’s international focus, with respect to its marketing activities in tourism.

However, Tourism Canada was not the only agency undertaking international promotion of Canada. Every province and territory and many larger municipalities also conducted some international marketing. The federal, provincial and territorial governments agreed in 1985 that both levels of government had a role to play in international marketing, with Tourism Canada co-ordinating activities where possible. A survey conducted by the Government of British Columbia (n.d. in Hawkins 1993:4) revealed that all provincial and territorial governments conducted marketing programmes in the United States, 77% conducted programmes in the UK and Europe, and 54% in the Pacific Rim. Another study (Ogilvie and Mather 1992 in Hawkins 1993:4) indicated that provinces and territories spent approximately \$11 million in print and electronic media advertising in the United States in 1991 - virtually the same as the federal government at the time.

Over the above period, nearly all of Tourism Canada’s marketing resources (approximately \$25 million per annum) were allocated against five primary geographic markets, with the US receiving almost 75% of total marketing dollars (Hawkins 1993:4). Elements of Tourism Canada’s marketing programme included advertising, public relations, promotions, media relations, and travel trade development. There were also a number of joint marketing agreements in place with major industry operators such as Air Canada and Holland America, and with many of the provinces and territories. For example, in 1992-93 Tourism Canada spent \$2.1 million in the US under these joint marketing agreements, with its partners contributing \$3.2 million (Hawkins 1993:5). By the end of the 1980s, tourism had become recognised by the federal government as one of the major federal programmes with potential for promoting export sales (Brooks 1989).

However, by the 1990s Tourism Canada had become the target of criticism, partly because of the overlap in marketing responsibilities between the federal and provincial and territorial governments, resulting in confusion over just what Tourism Canada’s role actually was (Hawkins 1993). Many small and medium operators were often unaware of Tourism Canada’s marketing objectives, strategies and plans, while high profile marketing initiatives with the airlines and other large players left the impression amongst them that Tourism Canada was only interested in working with large and international companies: small players felt structurally excluded. In contrast with this criticism of Tourism Canada, External Affairs and International Trade Canada (EAITC) were viewed as a necessary and important marketing

resource, and there was a call for a return of the direct reporting relationship between EAITC and Tourism Canada such as that which had existed under the previous CGOT structure (Hawkins 1993:5).

Such criticism led to the production of various consultancy reports on the operations of Tourism Canada, and of the requirements of an NTO for Canada. Some reports such as that prepared for the Conference of the Canadian Council of Tourism Officials in 1993 looked at and compared other models of NTOs overseas (Hawkins 1993). This report identified future possible models for Canada, including the potential of a tourism marketing authority.

Smith and Meis (1996) note that one of the contributing factors to the industry's unease with national tourism marketing was the downturn in the tourism industry in the early 1990s. This was brought about partly through the availability of federal grants for tourism development in the middle and late 1980s, which coinciding with a period of diminishing federal and provincial marketing budgets resulted in over capacity and poor performance of the industry. Coupled with this, a series of federal and provincial government changes and cabinet reshuffles contributed to a diminishing profile: the "political clout and visibility" for the industry was shrinking, and this was time of frustration and difficulty for many tourism businesses (Smith and Meis 1996:481).

The Tourism Industry Association of Canada, representing mainly small to medium tourism enterprises, were one of the main critics of Tourism Canada. They produced a report, "Prosperity through Tourism" reviewing the state of the industry and recommending structural changes (Task Force on Canadian Tourism 1992). Among these recommendations was the replacement of Tourism Canada with a national authority that would be jointly funded by government and industry, but whose decisions would be tourism-driven. This report was generally well received by industry and governments alike, but due to a change in government after the 1992 federal election, the federal government's response was delayed (Smith and Meis 1996:481).

From the 1980s, the tourism industry reinforced its position as a major industry in Canada, and its links with federal economic objectives became more explicit. Although Tourism Canada demonstrated many initiatives over this period, they increasingly became the subject of criticism from certain elements of the industry – small to medium enterprises in particular. This was due to an apparent lack of ability or will to include these stakeholders in their programmes. Perhaps unfortunately for Tourism Canada, this coincided with a period of poorer performance of the industry, a loss of political support, and finally, the recession of the early 1990s.

9.1.4 Report of the Special Advisor on tourism

In 1994, the Prime Minister, Jean Chretien, recognising the potential of tourism to help the government fulfil its promise of job creation, appointed a Special Advisor on Tourism, the Honourable Judd Buchanan (Smith and Meis 1996:481). Buchanan was a former Minister of the Crown in the Liberal government in the 1970s, holding several portfolios, some of which were linked with tourism.⁷⁵ Over his period in the Liberal Party, Buchanan developed a friendship and close working relationship with Prime Minister Chretien. In his professional capacity, he was, during the time he fulfilled the role of advisor, the chairman of the Silver Star Mountain Resort in British Columbia.⁷⁶ Buchanan took on his new role for the fee of one dollar per year, and travelled throughout Canada, meeting with approximately 300 representatives of the tourism industry.⁷⁷ In October 1994, Buchanan's report was submitted to the Prime Minister. This was to be a highly significant report, with ramifications not only for the way that tourism is marketed federally in Canada, but also for tourism policy and relations of the NTO.

The report highlighted the significance of tourism to the Canadian economy, and criticised the lack of representation at the Cabinet table by a minister for whom tourism would be their prime responsibility.⁷⁸ The report also noted the lack of a Deputy Minister or an Assistant Deputy Minister responsible for tourism, the most senior official at the time being a Director General (note that previously in 1973 the CGTB had its first Assistant Deputy Minister appointed). Buchanan was also critical of the reduced federal marketing budget, which had peaked at \$42 million around the time of Expo 86, and had been continually cut back since, standing at \$16 million in 1994 (Buchanan 1994:3). These reductions occurred at a time when federal expenditure was being cut across the board.

Canada's travel deficit was also highlighted. The report also argued that to address this deficit, not only was there a need to increase the number of foreign tourists to Canada, but also a need to stem the flow of Canadian's who took holidays outside the country. The report also addressed the decision taken 10 years earlier that there was no net economic benefit in promoting Canada as a tourist destination to Canadians, and concluded that this decision had contributed to a 60% increase in the number of Canadians who holiday in other countries

⁷⁵ Buchanan was an MP for a twelve year period beginning in 1968, and held several Cabinet postings including Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (which at the time administered the Parks Branch), President of the Treasury Board, Minister of Public Works, and Minister of State for Science and Technology.

⁷⁶ The Prime Minister, Jean Chretien also had tourism interests at the time, being Executive Vice President of the Greater Montreal Convention and Tourism Bureau.

⁷⁷ The precedent for this type of recruitment had been set by a former cabinet minister, C.D. Howe, who during World War II created Crown corporations and recruited former business executives at \$1 per year to run them (Borins 1982 in Adie and Thomas 1987:385).

(Buchanan 1994:3). The report was critical of the move in the 1980s to disestablish the CGOT when its resources were dispersed throughout other federal departments and when marketing budgets were reduced. The assessment of the marketing programme led to a conclusion that it was fragmented and inefficient.

This report raised a number of issues that had also been raised internally by Tourism Canada. For example in their 1989 Discussion Paper on a National Tourism Strategy, Tourism Canada emphasised the paucity of funding for its international marketing efforts, comparing its \$33 million budget with the total of US state tourism budgets of \$295 million, in 1988/89. Tourism Canada also listed as a priority the need to “influence the international marketing efforts of key tourism industry partners” (Tourism Canada 1989:34). However, in this respect Tourism Canada and Buchanan differed, for as Buchanan saw it, just a few years later, the issue was that the key tourism industry partners needed to influence the marketing efforts of Tourism Canada.

Buchanan’s view was that a key problem had been the lack of a meaningful forum through which all stakeholders could provide input into the development of marketing plans and then work together toward their implementation. His recommendation was the creation of a Canadian Tourism Commission, which would be directed by a Board composed of federal, provincial/territorial and private sector representatives. Buchanan claimed widespread support from both industry and governments for this initiative. The most important changes that this would bring about were the representation of private sector tourism interests at the top decision making levels, along with a means of providing better collaboration between industry and government for tourism marketing. The primary responsibility of the Commission would be marketing Canada as a tourist destination, to both international and domestic tourists. The secondary responsibility would be to provide support for the existing tourism associations in resolving issues of importance, and here Buchanan listed the role of national parks and historic sites, along with transportation, taxation and other issues. In other words, the intention was for the Commission to have a policy advocacy role.

Buchanan outlined the proposed Board composition, which would include federal, provincial and territorial governments, along with industry, and representatives of attractions, culture and sports. A base funding of \$50 million from the federal government was recommended, which, it was hoped would be augmented by provincial/territorial and industry contributions. The report also included sections concerning important issues raised by the tourism industry (Buchanan 1994).

⁷⁸ At that time, tourism was one of the many responsibilities of the Minister of Industry, who was already

The Buchanan report was significant in a number of ways. Firstly, it signalled a shift in power relations within the NTO – from public to private sector control. Up until that point, the federal government had seen the issue as one of finding a way to include the private sector in its activities, whereas Buchanan saw the issue more as finding a way to fit the federal government into a private sector led programme: the tail was starting to wag the dog. The report also established the structure and role for the new NTO, in a sense establishing stakeholder legitimacy for this policy domain, by decree. It also establishes what are seen as primary and secondary responsibilities. Significantly, maintaining relationships with interests such as the parks agency, becomes a secondary responsibility: by comparison, under the Tourism Canada and previous administrations, industry liaison had a higher profile, evidenced by various institutional arrangements pertaining to this role.

9.1.5 The Canadian Tourism Commission is formed

On February 1, 1995 the Industry Minister John Manley announced the appointment (by Order in Council) of members of the Board of the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC), with the Honourable Judd Buchanan named as the Board's first Chairperson. The Board was established under the Department of Industry Science and Technology Act, and was vested with the authority to "plan, direct, manage and implement programmes to generate and promote tourism in Canada" (CTC 1995d:1). Although the Minister's authority with regard to tourism had been vested in the Board, the Minister would continue to provide direction to the Board, and the Board would be accountable to the Minister (accountability would be mainly through the annual business planning and reporting processes – the Annual Report is a public document, tabled in Parliament). The CTC, led by a President, was to be established as a Special Operating Agency reporting to the Board. It was anticipated that the CTC Special Operating Agency staff would be largely drawn from Tourism Canada.⁷⁹

The Commission's Board would have 26 members, including the Chairperson, the President and the Deputy Minister of Industry Canada, with up to 16 private sector members and seven provincial/territorial government members (Industry Canada 1995). Thus with 17 such members, the Commission would be heavily weighted towards the private sector. The only two federal government representatives would be the President and the Deputy Minister of Industry. Significantly, the Deputy Minister's role, as outlined in the CTC Charter document is to provide the perspective of federal government departments and agencies (i.e. not only the Department of Industry Science and Technology) (CTC 1995d). In practice this may prove to be difficult, both in terms of the size of the task, and the conflicts involved in representing a

considered to have a heavy portfolio.

⁷⁹ Industry Canada had five Special Operating Agencies within its portfolio in 1998 (Industry Canada estimates/overviews 1997-1998). See Chapter Eight for a full description of the role of SOAs.

variety of viewpoints, or structural entities with conflicting mandates, some of which may be at odds with Industry's departmental policy. Significantly, the complete domination of the Board by tourism industry representatives and lack of recreation, leisure, heritage or environmental representation again clearly asserts the role of tourism as an *industry* with very clear if somewhat narrowly defined objectives.

The CTC's mission, as stated in its charter document (CTC 1995d:1) is "to sustain a vibrant and profitable Canadian tourism industry". Guiding principles of the CTC include representing the interests of the Canadian tourism industry to the governments, and ensuring that tourism is taken into account in policy and programme development. Strategic objectives include increasing co-ordination and partnering, and ensuring full, open and relevant communication of the CTC's plans and programmes to the industry at large (CTC 1995d).

The federal government would commit \$50 million per year for the marketing programme, an increase of \$35 million per year over then current levels. It was anticipated that within a few years, contributions from all partners would bring the CTC's marketing budget to \$100 million per year. Total budget for the year would be \$57.6 million, largely managed by staff of Industry Canada (CTC 1995d).

As well as the Board, the CTC also comprises several working committees, all chaired by private sector representatives and involving "key industry players" (CTC 1995c:1). These committees turn the broad direction set by the Board into specific action plans, and include the Marketing Committees established for specific geographic regions, and specific travel purpose, the Industry Enhancement Committee, focusing on product development, and the Research Committee dealing with the research programme.

Under this new organisational structure, the key relationships maintained by the NTO are with the private sector, the NTO taking the model of a public-private sector alliance. And although there was to be an increased role of marketing 'commodities' such as national parks, the links of the Board with agencies such as Parks Canada were not clear.

The Minister of Industry, John Manley, was enthusiastic about his new agency and about the benefits of tourism, describing the industry as "...a key part of our jobs and growth strategy" (CTC 1995c:10). The new team at the CTC shared the Minister's enthusiasm, the first CTC public communique stating that "Their [CTC staff] appetite for deficit reduction is as voracious as is their commitment to cutting travel payments and boosting travel receipts" (CTC 1995c:10).

By the end of the 1995/96 financial year, the newly created CTC had begun to show results. Their annual report for that period showed a decline in the travel deficit of \$1 billion over 1994, and an increase in tourism revenues to a total of \$41.8 billion. This increase in revenues was associated with an increase in tourism employment of 8000. In the first year of operation, \$40 million was raised in partner funding, increasing the CTC's total marketing budget to \$90 million (CTC 1996a). Note, however that these impressive figures are not simply the result of the creation of the CTC, and a range of other factors, including longer term trends in visitor flows also likely contributed. For example, for the 1994 financial year, the year *before* CTC was created, the travel deficit was reduced by about \$1.8 billion!

Despite the apparent early success of the CTC, and the growth experienced in the industry, the organisation underwent restructuring at this time. This "difficult restructuring" reduced staff by more than 50% (CTC 1996a:1) (seemingly the Commission's statement (CTC 1997a:1) that "tourism means jobs – at all levels!" did not apply to their own staff). Staff numbers in 1999 stood at approximately 120, although of this figure, only 57 were based in the Canadian office in Ottawa (Lewis, pers comm 1999). Compare this to the 91 Tourism Canada staff based in Ottawa in 1992, and the heady days of 1966 when total staff numbers in the CGTB reached as high as 200 (Tourism Canada 1992b). Industry Canada, the parent department, as a whole also suffered major reductions over this period. From 1994/95 to 1997/98 the workforce was to be cut by 20% and spending by 51% (Doern 1996). This is illustrative of a general trend of federal government downsizing apparent over the period of the early 1990s.

9.1.6 Further CTC developments

Probably the most significant document to be produced by the CTC has been "Challenges for Canada's Tourism Industry" (CTC1997a). This report presented an overview of current challenges to the industry, for example, the persistent travel deficit (which increased by \$0.4 billion in 1996), and slow growth in the domestic travel sector.

Other issues were identified such as the cost of travel, and inadequate roads and accommodation. A key issue was that of "animating" the tourism product. This refers to providing a range of activities for visitors to enjoy whilst they are visiting a tourism destination. The report talks of animating Canada's public sector heritage tourism resources, include such resources as national parks.

Finally, the report provides an affirmation of the CTC's operational policies. Any action taken by the CTC must be in line with its core principles which include customer driven, and research based programmes and services, with a sound business base. Emphasis is placed on a partnering approach - however noting that "decision making must be controlled by the private

sector” (CTC 1997a:17). Partnering in this sense allows for discussion and input, but where ultimately one partner remains dominant and controls decision making.

9.1.7 Recent changes to the Canadian Tourism Commission

Some significant changes to the CTC occurred in the period following the completion of field work for this study. They will be mentioned here, as they relate to the CTC's ongoing ability to form and manage partnerships.

On March 18, 1999 The Minister of Industry introduced legislation to the House of Commons to make the CTC a Crown corporation (Industry Canada 1999).⁸⁰ The proposed legislation was intended to provide the CTC with more "flexibility and freedom to achieve its goal of partnering with the tourism industry and the federal government to sustain a *vibrant and profitable* [emphasis added] national tourism industry" (Industry Canada 1999:1). Brooks (1989) notes that the independence of Crown corporations from the government of the day means that they are able to determine policy within their particular sphere with only loose or occasional direction from cabinet. The effect that becoming corporatised may have on the CTC's relationships with other tourism stakeholders will be interesting to observe – as will its response to federal directives and initiatives regarding sustainable development and partnership building.

Interestingly, the above transformation parallels changes within Parks Canada (as discussed in the previous chapter), to create a Special Operating Agency, which would enable it to meet a number of goals, including contributing to “*vibrant and sustainable* [emphasis added] tourism in Canada” (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage 1996:51). The congruence of these organisational goals reflects the significance of tourism to the federal government, and perhaps is illustrative of the input of one or more of the central federal bodies (e.g. Treasury Board) in the reorganisation of these new agencies. As will be discussed in Chapter Ten, being a significant departure from the traditional federal departmental model, in terms of their funding base, structures and reporting relationship with government, the creation of these Special Operating Agencies is potentially important in terms of these agencies' ability to form and maintain relations with other agencies, government departments and interest groups.

With respect to tourism, the new Crown corporation will have the same mandate to plan, direct, manage and implement programmes to generate and promote tourism in and to Canada. One of the key objectives of the new corporation remains to support a co-operative

⁸⁰ The CTC would become a Crown corporation on January 2, 2001 under Schedule III (I) of the Financial Administration Act (Industry Canada 1999)

relationship between the private sector and the governments of Canada with respect to tourism (Industry Canada 1999).

The arrangements for the Board would remain unchanged, with members of the Board of Directors being appointed by the Minister of Industry, under guidance from the Board. Federal representation on the Board would remain at two members. Changing the legal status of the CTC will clarify the accountability of the CTC. The corporation will be accountable to Parliament through its Board of Directors and the Minister of Industry (Industry Canada 1999).

The CTC will assume the role of direct employer, rather than the Treasury Board, and as a Crown corporation, the CTC will have more flexibility to contract for the purchase of goods and services relevant to the programme requirements established by the Board. The CTC will continue to receive a Parliamentary appropriation, and the financial contributions of CTC partners will be more easily managed by a Crown corporation (Industry Canada 1999). The Minister of Industry will still have responsibility for tourism policy, although to date the Department has not been active in developing tourism policy in the traditional sense of the term. Rather, tourism policy has been developed more through the marketing activities of the Commission.

9.2 Summary

Several key developments in the history of Canada's NTO are apparent from the above description, some of which are relevant to the analysis of their current roles and relationships with respect to park tourism. Over much of its history, the NTO has been in a fairly stable policy and institutional environment (relatively few restructurings), with significant changes occurring only quite recently.

The NTO began simply as a travel bureau, providing travel services to agencies, visitors and potential visitors to Canada. The bureau also promoted Canada, both overseas, and by the late 1960s, domestically. Following WWII, the organisation grew steadily, and by the 1960s, the NTO had established a substantial network of branches in Canada and overseas. During this period of growth, the focus of the organisation evolved, with the provision of travel services becoming a lower priority, and the emphasis upon national and international marketing growing.

The 1970s witnessed the recognition of tourism as an important economic contributor, and over this period, the NTO assumed a greater product/industry development role. Also at this time, the policy and planning and industrial relations roles for the NTO were established and

expanded. The impetus for the development of a greater policy role was partly the need to participate in wider federal and federal/provincial relations promulgated by the federal government at the time, and partly due to perceived barriers to tourism growth. Accompanying the perceived need for a boosterism role across a variety of other policy fields, the NTO also demonstrated a responsibility for addressing issues such as the sustainability of tourism, undertaking some work in this area in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This period of policy activity probably provided the greatest opportunity for the formation and maintenance of interorganisational relations, in the history of the organisation.

However, the downturn in the tourism industry in the early 1990s crystallised growing unease with the NTO. Coupled with industry complaints of lack of consultation, along with the general economic conditions, the federal government began to consider new models for the NTO that would address these issues. The creation of the CTC with its public/private blend of funding and control fitted in well with the trend towards devolution of control to the private sector. Over this period, the focus on marketing has become sharper, and the organisation has lost, along with a significant portion of staff, any 'peripheral' roles that it had previously. Importantly, this resulted in the loss of any significant policy making mandate or ability. More recent developments, in becoming a Crown corporation have confirmed the direction of the NTO as a solely marketing agency. Although the NTO had never had a history of consulting or interacting widely, often staying within the confines of the tourism industry, this recent evolution may act to even further reduce the opportunities for policy interaction with other interests.

9.2.1 The National Tourism Organisation - interorganisational relations

In terms of the organisations general external linkages, a significant point to come out of this discussion is that the context for co-operation for the NTO has been strongly influenced by broad changes to the tourism industry (especially growth), and to the macro-economy (especially the role of government). A significant change emerged from the early 1970s, with tacit recognition of tourism as an industry and of the importance of the NTO as a key player in developing tourism policy. Because tourism was now an 'industry' there was a perceived need for it to have a liaison and advocacy role as did other industries. Institutional arrangements were made to enhance interorganisational relations with other federal departments over this period. A critical contingency operating over this period for the NTO was that of asymmetry, whereby the NTO were attempting to exert power over the control of resources in their relations with other federal departments. Over this period, the NTO sought greater control over scarce resources, such as access to certain selected properties owned by the Crown.

This emphasis on relationships was recognised in policy by the NTO through until the 1990s, with an increasing focus on the private sector. Ironically, it was partly the perceived failure of Tourism Canada to recognise the legitimacy of private sector small to medium tourism enterprises within the tourism policy domain that led to that organisation's demise. The Buchanan report of 1994 recognised as a failure the lack of structured co-operation between Tourism Canada and large parts of the private sector. To an extent the failure of the relationship with Tourism Canada can also be attributed to power issues, with the private sector seeking greater power, but the lack of permeability of the organisational boundaries and apparent unwillingness to share this power alienating the NTO from other domain members.

With the creation of the Canadian Tourism Commission, power has been distributed more equitably within the domain, and new institutional arrangements made whereby linkages with the private sector have a much higher degree of intensity, stability and formalisation. As discussed in Chapter Six, these relationships have been facilitated by a political context that has made the federal government considerably more amenable to the devolution of power to the private sector. This model for relationships within the domain has been confirmed and potentially enhanced by the recent (2001) change of the CTC to become a Crown corporation. Conceivably, this will enhance relations with the tourism private sector through the greater similarity of function and structure that will result from the change.

The structures and functions of both the NTO and the parks agency have now been addressed. The following chapter will examine the relationship between these organisations. The history of this relationship will be discussed in terms of the political, social and economic influences of the time, and key developments in the relationship will be outlined.

Chapter 10: The Relationship Between the National Tourism Organisation and the Parks Agency

10.1 Development of the national tourism organisation – parks agency relationship

For a substantial period, the relationship between Canada's NTO and its parks agency was one of mutualism or symbiosis. Both organisations worked in stable policy environments, had well defined goals, and co-operated happily together in the matter of parks tourism. However, since the 1970s in particular, both organisations have been working in increasingly fluctuating policy environments. These changes include, for example, substantial alterations to parks policy, changes in the role of the NTO, changes to the structural arrangements of each organisation, and the increasing influence of other previously unarticulated interests. A result is that the formation, maintenance and nature of interorganisational relations between these organisations has become increasingly complex.

This chapter interprets documentary evidence of the relationship between these organisations. Changes in the relationships are tracked and linked to key events and policy developments over time. The concluding section of this chapter provides an overview of the historical development of relations between the parks agency and NTO, within the framework of an IOR analysis.

10.1.1 The nature of the early relationship

Co-operation between the Parks Branch and agencies of the federal government involved in tourism promotion began soon after the Branch's establishment. Prior to the creation of the Canadian Travel Bureau (CTB), the Canadian Motion Picture Bureau was one of these early agencies. An early report lists organisations that the Canadian Motion Picture Bureau co-operated with, including the Department of the Interior, and specifically the "National Parks of Canada Branch" (Department of Trade and Commerce 1929). As discussed in Chapter Eight, the Parks Branch needed to build its constituency of support, and saw increasing visitor numbers as a way of achieving this. More visitors meant greater funding for existing park protection and development, and greater support for the creation of new parks.

The Motion Picture Bureau initially, and then the CTB, helped to supply those visitors, both from within Canada and internationally. In turn, by encouraging visitors to parks, and the consequent development of parks, the CTB helped guarantee not only the Parks Branch's future existence and growth, but also its own, as the Parks Branch was one of its major clients.

The positive relationship and apparent shared views on the role of parks over the period from the 1930s to the 1950s is perhaps best illustrated through an analysis of promotional material produced by the CTB and later the CGTB relating to National Parks.

10.1.2 The representation of parks to the public

The CTB was initially mainly oriented towards the United States market (Canadian National Archives (no date)), and embarked on a path of promoting the virtues of Canadian wilderness. Images of parks were used to promote Canada from the outset of the CTB's work. A substantial forty page guide to Canada published by the CTB in 1938 includes three pages on national parks. It is pertinent to note how the interpretation and promotion of the roles of national parks as presented in publicity material, has evolved over the years. These images of national parks presented in publicity material both reflect (and reinforce) the dominant image held by the travelling public at the time. For example, a CTB brochure from the 1930s contains a national park section, describing parks as "areas which have been withdrawn from exploitation and are being preserved in their virgin beauty and wilderness for purposes of pleasure and recreation" (CTB (*circa* 1930)).

During World War II, no promotional work was undertaken by the CTB. After the war, the Bureau was rebuilt, and by the 1950s, some promotional material for national parks was being produced jointly by the Canadian Government Travel Bureau (CGTB) and the National Parks Branch. An example of this was the "Waterton Lakes National Park, Canada" brochure, which was published by the CGTB in co-operation with the National Parks Branch, in 1955 (CGTB 1955a). In the foreword of this publication, regarding the management of parks, stress is placed upon management in perpetuity, in an unimpaired state. However, despite this emphasis, the foreword to this publication largely contradicts these sentiments, describing how "by progressive stages the parks have been made more accessible... public services provided, and accommodation and recreational facilities expanded" (CGTB 1955a:1). Another co-operative publication "Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba, Canada" published by the CGTB in 1956 and compiled in co-operation with the National Parks Branch, refers to national parks as a "great chain of national playgrounds" (CGTB 1956:1). Similarly, another 1955 CGTB co-operative publication entitled "Playgrounds of the Prairies" describes features of the national parks of the Canadian prairies. Here, national parks are "set aside for use and enjoyment of the people..." (CGTB 1955b:1).⁸¹

⁸¹ Other similar publications from this period published by the CGTB in co-operation with the Parks Branch or issued under the authority of the Minister of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources" include "Playgrounds of Eastern Canada" (1955) describing the national parks of Eastern Canada; Nature Trails in Mount Revelstoke National Park (1956); National Parks of Canada (1954); Motor Drives at Banff (late 1950s); Canada's Mountain Playgrounds (1954); Campgrounds and Trailer Parks in Canada's National Parks (1956)

It appears that for a substantial period, roughly from the 1930s to the 1960s, the responsibility for marketing of national parks was substantially given to the CGTB. From 1947, when a reorganisation occurred in the Parks Branch, it was acknowledged that promotional activity continued with the assistance of the CGTB (Lothian 1981). At this time, the Parks Branch continued to fund park films and publications through its own appropriations, although it seems that much of the expertise in terms of publicity was provided by the CGTB and the National Film Board. The CGTB in effect managed the public face of national parks. The lack of National Parks Branch publications, (although there were a number of co-operatively published publications) would imply that there was agreement between the two organisations on how the role of national parks should be presented, and that the information contained within CGTB publications was supported by the Parks Branch.

Later in the 1950s and in the 1960s further CGTB publications included the travel booklet "Canada - Vacations Unlimited" (CGTB 1958), of which a major portion is devoted to National Parks, "Canada's National Parks Accommodation Guide" (CGTB 1966), and "Invitation to Canada" (CGTB 1963), which was a major (50 page) travel guide to Canada, which devoted almost half of its pages to National Parks. This was released in a number of different languages around the world, and coincided with the drive to attract more international visitors. Thus national parks were obviously a significant part of the promotion of Canada as a destination.

The co-operation evident above between the two organisations may well have been facilitated through both the National Parks Branch and the Government Travel Bureau coming under the auspices of the same parent department in the early 1950s – the Department of Resources and Development. At this time, staff, funding and a number of park publicity activities were transferred from the Parks Branch to the CGTB (Lothian 1981).

In 1952, the CGTB launched a series of broadcasts about national parks on the Canadian national radio network, and in that year also distributed over 900,000 publications about national parks. In subsequent years, the national parks were to receive widespread publicity through direct advertising, the distribution of literature and photographs, and the use of films in television broadcasts (Lothian 1981).

Up until the late 1950s, most of the publicity work undertaken by the Parks Branch was simply designed to attract visitors to the parks. Very little of the message concerned the conservation aspects or objectives of the parks. It wasn't until 1958, with the establishment of the Parks Branch Education and Interpretation Section that conservation issues received

attention (Lothian 1981). At this point the Parks Branch assumed responsibility for producing material of an educational nature, and the CGTB continued producing films and pamphlets designed primarily to attract visitors to the national parks (Lothian 1981). The 1961 pamphlet produced by the Parks Branch “Canada’s Heritage of Nature” was significant as possibly the first publication about parks stressing the need for sanctuaries free of industrial and other forms of resource development (Parks Branch 1961).

The CGTB served as the “information and publicity agent” for the national parks for about a ten year period, up until 1960, when the Parks Branch took over some of these functions (Lothian 1981:139). Over that period, several million copies of parks publications were printed and distributed, eight new films featuring national parks were released, along with numerous press articles and other PR material, thus reinforcing Canada’s national parks as a significant feature of the CGTB advertising programme.

However, in 1962, the two organisations parted company, with the CGTB being transferred to the Department of Trade and Commerce (as mentioned in Chapter Nine, this was likely linked to the 1962 Glassco Commission on Government Organisation that reshaped government significantly at that time). By the 1970s, it appears that the parks organisation had assumed complete responsibility for the production of publicity relating to national parks, although undoubtedly the CGTB continued to use the images of parks in its promotional material. This parting of company was likely due to a combination of factors, but linked to the position of the organisations within the federal structure, and the organisations’ changing foci and priorities. With growing recognition of tourism as an industry, the predominantly travel bureau function of the CGTB was to expand to include a greater policy advocacy role. Structural proximity would have initially fostered co-operation, but with the move of the NTO to Trade and Commerce, and with the increasing protectionist approach of the parks agency, opportunities and imperatives for maintaining this aspect (co-operative promotion of parks) of their relationship would have been reduced.

10.1.3 Influence of the environmental movement

The 1960s saw a rise in environmental awareness and a growing environmental movement in Canada. At the time, substantial growth in the numbers of visitors to national parks contributed to concerns about the ecological integrity of the parks (Eidsvik and Henwod 1990). These factors presented a major challenge to the mutualism between parks and tourism that had been established over previous decades. Consequently, the relationship between the parks agency and the NTO was inevitably altered.

In effect, the relationship was influenced by both internal and external developments: internally by the changing attitude of the Parks Branch, and externally by the growing environmental movement that challenged the traditional management of national parks. The Parks Branch had had a succession of leaders, Harkin, Smart, Gibson, and Coleman, who all had a common vision for parks – one that included *use* as a key component, and where ‘development’ within and adjacent was also a key feature (Lothian 1977). This vision was gradually eroded by policy developments occurring from 1964 onwards.

The change in attitude towards tourism by the Parks Branch is witnessed by such statements as that made in 1960 by the Minister in charge of the Parks Branch, the Hon. A Hamilton, who asked people to band together to help save the parks from those who wished to exploit them with “every honky-tonk recreational device known to man” (Marty 1984:134). This plea tells a lot about the relative lack of power of the Parks Branch (and the Minister) at the time to resist inappropriate tourism developments in the parks. Remember that this was a time when a long range planning section had only recently been established in the Parks Branch, and there was no national parks policy covering matters such as the development of recreational facilities. Consequently in practice, tourism development occurred in an *ad hoc*, piece meal fashion.

Despite the seemingly close, and generally accommodating relationship between the Parks Branch and the tourism industry, the first hint that all was not well came via the 1962 Glassco Commission on Government Organisation, which was critical of the “inadequate communication” between park administrators and tourism interests in parks (Lothian 1977:47). This is ironic as the Parks Branch, in order to facilitate communication had encouraged the formation and continued activity of advisory councils in parks town sites, and through the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, had in 1960 sought Treasury Board permission to give grants to all park advisory councils, which were having difficulty in financing their own operations (Lothian 1977:43). This request was turned down by the Treasury Board. So despite the call for better communication, the federal government would not even continue to fund existing mechanisms.

In 1967, poor communication was again raised as an issue, this time from the Standing Committee of Northern Affairs and National Resources, who called attention to the serious problem of communication between the Department and tourism operators in the parks (Lothian 1977:71). These criticisms need to be seen in context, and may in part be a reflection of tourism interests not always getting their way, especially in this ‘twilight zone’ when policy concerning tourism development in national parks was undergoing some change. This was also a period of continuing conflict in some high profile parks concerning the issue of town

sites and power and control of development in those town sites. Tourism operators in the national parks at this time continued to have political support, and such criticisms could manifest themselves through representations to local Members of Parliament.

10.1.4 Structured co-operation - the Tourism Interdepartmental Committee

The issue of communication with tourism interests in general (but especially with respect to park townsites) was to remain a sore in the side of the parks agency for some time. The National Parks Service perceived a need to improve communications, and by 1969 was making efforts to "improve liaison, consultation and co-ordination with other federal agencies" (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1969:1). As an example of this, the Parks Service undertook with the CGTB an exit survey of approximately 10,000 American tourists. In April 1970, following a Cabinet decision, an *ad hoc* interdepartmental committee was established under the chairmanship of the Director General of the Office of Tourism, "to formulate a statement of federal policy on tourism in Canada" (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1970:1). The Interdepartmental Committee on Tourism Policy became permanent by October that year, and Parks Canada was represented on that committee. It was proposed that the role of Parks Canada be in the "...co-ordination of inputs on the development of natural resources and facilities for outdoor recreation and parks and in the relationship between the supply and demand for tourism in Canada" (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1970:1). It was obviously envisaged that Parks Canada and the national parks would play an important role in addressing any gap between supply and demand for recreation. There is no indication that this mandate was disputed by Parks Canada at the time.

As discussed in Chapter Six, interdepartmental committees were adapted as the primary mechanism to facilitate communication and co-ordination over this period –this was the beginning of a period of 'interdepartmentalism' for the federal government. Another interdepartmental committee was formed in 1975, the Interdepartmental Committee on Tourism (IDCT), which was formed to be a focal point for "co-ordinated systematic planning" (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1975:1). There were two Parks Canada representatives on the IDCT. One of the projects undertaken by the IDCT was to prepare an inventory of federal tourism-related programmes and an examination of their interrelationships (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1975:1).

The Interdepartmental Committee on Tourism, was a potentially powerful tool for co-ordination, and operated in conjunction with a number of other co-ordinating institutional arrangements. In particular, an overview of the federal government's involvement in travel industry development in 1976 notes the significance of, and connections between, the IDCT, the Canadian Conference of Tourism Officials and the Federal Provincial Conference of Tourism Ministers (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1976).

Temporary forums also on occasion provided an opportunity for the NTO and the parks agency to work together. For example, in 1977 Parks Canada and the CGOT co-operated over the "Intercan Task Force" (re the Intercan trade show) and the associated report to the federal Cabinet. A component of this co-operation was the loan of personnel from the Visitor Services Section of Parks Canada to the CGOT (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1977).

10.1.5 Parks Canada seek more help from the CGOT

At about this time, Parks Canada approached the CGOT seeking greater assistance in marketing national parks for tourists. A memo from Parks Canada to the CGOT in June 1976 requests the assistance of the CGOT in making "*all* [emphasis added] the national parks known to more Canadians" (Tourism Interdepartmental Committee 1977). Parks Canada was interested in developing three themes in parks publicity: the four season use of parks; the proximity of some parks to urban areas; and circle tours by auto and rail/air to visit several parks. One of these themes in particular, the four season use of parks corresponded with the NTO's efforts to reduce the effects of seasonality.

However, conflict regarding the mandates of the organisations was evident. In a meeting between Parks Canada and CGOT staff in 1976, Parks Canada staff noted that they felt that CGOT staff were not aware of the purpose of national parks. Parks Canada staff emphasised that they would like to see CGOT promotion putting *less* emphasis on Banff and Jasper National Parks, and asked that less well known parks be used in promotions. Also, rather than emphasising the "resort aspects" of some of the parks, Parks Canada asked the CGOT to "put more weight on the value of wilderness and the preservation of the national heritage". They also wanted off-season and shoulder season promotion (Parks Canada 1976). In this way, Parks Canada were trying not to *limit* use, but to *spread* use throughout the year, thus avoiding overuse in the high season. At the time, the organisation did not possess the knowledge of the potential impacts on wildlife of extending the visitor season in parks, that informs Parks Canada in its planning today (e.g. BBVTF 1996).

Despite comments from the federal Office of Tourism seeking greater development for tourism in national parks, (e.g. "we need to open more Crown lands to the people" (CGOT 1972:12)) there were some indications of the sensitivity of that organisation to the potential impacts of tourism. Over the period from about 1973 to 1979, the policy division of the CGOT was active, and among many publications, produced several studies of the impact of international and domestic tourism growth in Canada. Some of these reports were produced co-operatively between the CGOT and the Socio Economic Division of Parks Canada (e.g.

“Development of tourism and its potential futures in Canada north of 60 degrees, with implications for national parks and related reserves” (CGOT & Parks Canada 1978).

The mid to late 1970s appeared to be a new period of outward focus for Parks Canada, or at least a time of heightened contact with stakeholders. Indicative of this is the sheer volume of material held in the relevant Parks Canada files (e.g. Parks Canada 1971-1977) and the nature of the institutional arrangements made by Parks Canada at the time. For example the establishment of the new “Public Participation Division”, appointment of a Co-ordinator of Liaison and Consultations, and conducting a survey of the Regions to ascertain the nature of relations with outside organisations (Parks Canada 1977). The impetus for this change is less clear. It may in part have been a result of a federal initiative for co-ordination (continuing on from the Trudeau era of public participation (Doerr 1981)), or in part be linked to the physical expansion of the national park system that was occurring at the time (10 new parks were established between 1970 and 1975). This physical expansion would have been accompanied by an increased contact with stakeholders through the processes of actually establishing the parks, and then in preparing master plans for the new parks. On the ground, park advisory committees and regional liaison committees were established. It was also linked to policy changes requiring consultative planning from the late 1960s (Lothian 1977). Many of these newly recognised stakeholders would be tourism interests, due in part to the growing recognition of tourism as an industry and of parks as a viable part of that industry.

10.1.6 Need for greater co-operation recognised

The need for greater co-operation had also been realised by the CGOT – if only as a result of prompting by external interests. As part of an Interdepartmental Committee for Tourism (IDCT) exercise of examining federal tourism interrelationships in 1975, the CGOT noted that although it works with other federal organisations on many levels, the CGOT had become aware of the even greater need for communications between activity managers of the CGOT and other departments (Parks Canada 1975). It appears, however, that this issue was not addressed adequately by the organisation, as the Consultative Taskforce on the Canadian Tourism Industry in 1979, made similar recommendations, resulting in the CGOT undertaking to strengthen interdepartmental collaboration through a stronger IDCT (the CGOT was responsible for co-ordinating the IDCT) (Parks Canada 1975).

This is not to deny that CGOT had made special efforts in the area of co-ordination. A report of CGOT in 1982 notes how the Tourism Industry Consultative Task Force established in 1978 by the Minister of Trade Industry and Commerce, recognised *improved co-ordination* among governments and the private sector as a priority area for government action. The report explains the mechanisms by which this co-ordination is achieved, namely with provinces and

territories and the private sector through for example, the annual Conferences of Tourism Ministers and Deputy ministers, and through the Government Liaison, Marketing, Development and Research Committees of the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (CGOT 1982). However, there is no reference made to any mechanisms for co-ordination *between federal government departments*, such as those responsible for administering national parks or other key tourism attractions.

10.1.7 The 1978 Tourist Industry Consultative Task Force

The above omission is surprising, considering the findings of the 1978 Tourist Industry Consultative Task Force (TICTF). The Task Force comprised CGOT staff and representatives of the tourism industry. There was no representation of non-industry stakeholders. The report recommended the strengthening of CGOT collaboration with other government departments such as the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (then responsible for Parks Canada) through a stronger Interdepartmental Committee on Tourism (IDCT). The Task Force found that there was constraint on the development of tourism facilities because of a “plethora of regulations, overlapping and sometimes contradictory” (CGOT 1979:4). A stronger IDCT could more readily permit the incorporation of tourism interests in the activities of other departments.

More specifically with respect to national parks, the TICTF was concerned about “the uniquely conservationist emphasis of national parks policy without sufficient consideration of tourism” (CGOT 1979:4). The TICTF felt that tourists were being prevented from visiting national parks by the lack of facilities of all types: “If the parks are to be used by Canadian and foreign visitors (other than hikers and campers) then more accommodation must be provided and to do this the Parks Department should make its regulations more workable” (CGOT 1979:47). The recommendation was that new criteria be established to encourage the development of “tourist oriented facilities” within national parks (CGOT 1979:48). At this point the recommendations of the Task Force depart substantially from the 1969 national parks statement of policy (National and Historic Parks Branch 1969), and also the increasingly protectionist 1979 national parks policy (Parks Canada 1979) which the Task Force must have been aware of.

The TICTF in its enthusiasm to facilitate tourism development in national parks, and also perhaps to foster closer relations with Parks Canada, also recommended that the administration of the national parks be removed from the jurisdiction of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIANA), to the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce. This would have put the parks administration alongside the CGOT in the same department (as they were from 1950-1962), which indeed may have produced the desired effect of fostering a

closer relationship between tourism and conservation interests, in terms of industry objectives being more fully realised.

However this recommendation was hardly likely to have been seen in a favourable light by DIANA.⁸² It could have resulted in two reactions: first, that DIANA, being fearful of losing the parks portfolio to Industry Trade and Commerce would make overt efforts through Parks Canada to address the concerns of the tourism industry; alternatively, that DIANA and Parks Canada would see this as a direct challenge to its policies and autonomy and seek to entrench its policies regarding development of tourist facilities in parks. In fact, the Parks Branch took the former path, agreeing in principle to some of the recommendations of the TICTF, and undertaking to develop a tourism plan which would allow the incorporation of national parks into a national tourism strategy. CGOT and Parks Canada also had discussions regarding tourism destination zones and development of peripheral areas around parks (CGOT 1979). However the response re transfer of national parks administration was that "for the foreseeable future the administration...would remain with the jurisdiction of DIANA" (CGOT 1979:48). Ironically, the next year, 1978, Parks Canada was transferred to Environment Canada, the newly formed government department responsible for administering federal environmental policy - a move which must have been seen as reinforcing Parks Canada's protective role for parks, and reportedly a disappointment to tourism interests (BBVTF 1996).

10.1.8 Frustration with the parks agency

The report of the TICTF is significant in the relationship between the tourism industry and national park managers in Canada, as it marks the point where overt criticism of parks management by the tourism industry fully emerged, and also that this criticism was supported by tourism interests in the federal government. Up until that time, the main critics of park management had been the ENGOS, arguing "too much tourism". Now Parks Canada was under attack from both sides. This is perhaps why the organisation opted for co-operation with tourism interests, over resistance, at this stage. The TICTF process is also of interest in terms of its exclusion of other stakeholders such as the parks agency or environmental interests, considering the weight attached to parks tourism in the report. This exclusion facilitated what was to be a fairly scathing report in terms of the parks agency's performance. Although the report *did* recommend enhanced co-operation with Parks Canada, this was couched within a raft of other emasculating recommendations that would ultimately have effected that organisation's ability to meet its mandate.

⁸² Woodley (pers. comm 1997) notes that the Parks programme has always been a popular part of federal departments' portfolios, as it is a "cash cow", and has been "robbed blind" by some departments.

At the Canadian National Parks - Today and Tomorrow conference held in 1979, the then chairman of the Tourism Industry Association of Canada, G.B. Clarke, made the point that the recommendation (threat?) of the TICTF to move national park administration to Industry Trade and Commerce came because of the sense of frustration that existed within the tourism industry. Clarke went on to stress the need for greater co-operation and proposed the establishment of a "Conservation and Tourism Council", highlighting the "commonality of our goals" (Clarke 1979:47). However, he later went on to say that in terms of national tourism planning, national parks should be perceived as "national recreation areas". Using this as the starting point for negotiation with environmental and parks interests, it is hardly surprising that the invitation for co-operation was not taken up (especially given the staunch protective stance of the ENGOs at the time (see Chapter Twelve)).

Other participants at this conference were both critical and complimentary about the degree of co-ordination in park development and management. Burton (1979) for example, although acknowledging that co-ordination had improved since the previous decade, noted that co-ordinative mechanisms were in place, but were not yet working efficiently. Green highlighted improvements since the 1960s, and complimented the parks agency, citing Nelson, who, unlike the above critics, described Parks Canada as a "leader in public participation" (Nelson 1978 in Green 1979:736).

At the 19th Federal-Provincial Parks Conference in 1980 (forbodingly entitled "*Parks and Tourism in the 80s: Prostitution or Progress?*"), allegations were made by one of the ENGOs, the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, that there was an adversarial relationship between the Parks Canada and the CGOT, and that CGOT practice undermined parks policy. In response, the Assistant Deputy Minister, Tourism, of the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce, reassured the conference that in recent years officials of the two organisations had "discovered a good deal of common ground upon which to formulate respective policies and strategies" (Fletcher 1980:139). He referred specifically to the development of the 1979 Parks Canada Policy, and the CGOT's Tourism Sector Strategy, noting that the former was written in consultation with the CGOT. He felt that one of the CGOT's roles was to promote tourism in the national parks "to the extent to which they can efficiently receive and handle the demand created" (Fletcher 1980:139). Noting that it would not be in the interests of Canadian tourism to consume its own product through environmental abuse, the Assistant Deputy Minister then went on to suggest that an area of future co-operation with Parks Canada may be "...access to those park regions where policies and physical access restrict development of roads and visitor accommodation...". He proposed boat tours, bus tours, and flightseeing (Fletcher 1980:148). The underlying message from the NTO in this case appears to be that "we can co-operate when the aim is tourism development".

10.1.9 Call for greater tourism access to national parks

The call for enhanced access to natural areas became the general theme of the NTO in terms of its relationship with the parks agency, continuing on through the 1980s. Over this period the CGOT and then Tourism Canada persistently called for greater tourism development in national parks (see for example, the British Columbia Rocky Mountain Regional Tourism Plan, prepared by the CGOT in co-operation with the British Columbia Government. This plan calls for the establishment of major visitor centres in Banff National Park, asks Parks Canada to promote more active use of Kootenay National Park, and to give greater access to tourism operators (CGOT et al. 1982)).

The policy document “Tourism Tomorrow – Towards a Canadian Tourism Strategy” (Minister of State for Tourism 1985:57), reveals the overall attitude of the tourism office, asserting that conservation objectives *are* compatible with tourism objectives, and that “ecologically sound, market-driven tourism development in the national parks is possible”. The document noted that there were a number of parks where more varied and intensive use was a genuine economic opportunity. For example, the four mountain parks “with a major marketing effort, and more and better facilities and services...could serve even more helpfully than they do now as tourism magnets” (Minister of State for Tourism 1985:57). The reason that parks were *not* being more helpful to tourism was put down to a lack of co-ordinated effort within the federal government, rather than a conflict of mandates or fundamental philosophical difference: for example, “...within the federal government, parks, fisheries and environmental policies have seldom been formulated with tourism in mind” (Minister of State for Tourism 1985:79). The document does acknowledge, however, that tourism policy has not always taken into account policy considerations in other areas of government” (Minister of State for Tourism 1985:79). There is a call for parks policy, tourism policy and environmental policy to be fully co-ordinated, rather than the current situation where “...the one hand has frequently chopped off the other” (Minister of State for Tourism 1985:79).

Given the disparity of views within the domain on how parks should be managed, one major issue of interest to all national park stakeholders during the 1980s was the proposed amendment of the National Parks Act. Following what Parks Canada describes as eight years of consultation with interest groups, the Act was eventually amended (37 amendments (Environment Canada 1987)) in 1988. The most significant change to the act was that establishing the primacy of ecological integrity for national park management. Finally the dual mandate dilemma faced by park managers for decades had been addressed, supposedly sending a clear message to all park stakeholders. Interestingly, over the period of amending the Act, several policy documents from Tourism Canada continue to refer to the need to

extend the national parks and historic sites visitor season, and to develop more products for the fall and winter at those sites (e.g. Tourism Canada 1988).

10.1.10 “But we are co-operating - our annual report says so...”

More recently, while visiting the “Tourism 2000” conference held in Wellington, New Zealand in 1989, the Assistant Deputy Minister, Tourism Canada, noted that “Tourism Canada has a good relationship with the national parks agency [Parks Canada], and plan development of new areas jointly. However historically the issue of preservation versus use often came up” (Cocksedge 1989:37). This statement suggests that the earlier difficulties between the tourism and parks agency had now been resolved, conflict was a thing of the past, and that all was well between the two organisations - even to the extent where they *jointly* plan developments in parks.

This is true to some extent, as a number of initial data gathering exercises were undertaken jointly. For example, that year, the CPS and Tourism Canada had been members of a steering committee formed to facilitate a utilisation study of the Rocky Mountain National Parks (Ruston, Tameny & Associates Ltd 1989). (Note that an earlier utilisation study of the Rocky Mountains, the British Columbia Rocky Mountain Regional Tourism Plan, prepared by the CGOT in 1982, was *not* developed in consultation with Parks Canada, but was said to take into account existing Parks Canada plans (CGOT et al 1982)).

The concept of co-operation, with agencies such as Parks Canada is presented in many Tourism Canada policy documents. For example, the federal Tourism Strategy for Atlantic Canada lists as a priority, “working in close co-operation with other government departments e.g. Environment Canada” (Tourism Canada 1990:69); Environment Canada was the home department for Parks Canada at the time. Similarly, Canadian Parks Service documents from this period also point to a certain enthusiasm for tourism, and the desire to establish co-operative working relationships with tourism partners, promoting stronger partnerships, and specifically, finalising and implementing a memorandum of understanding with Tourism Canada (CPS 1988). The Parks Service was quite open about the role for tourism in enhancing the economic benefits of parks, and in addition to seeking the co-operation of Tourism Canada, aimed to enhance its in-house capabilities in tourism through providing marketing training for staff and developing a marketing strategy (CPS 1988).

10.1.11 Recent relations

The tourism Assistant Deputy Minister’s 1989 statement that stresses that the relationship is collaborative, however, is at odds with the way in which some CPS staff have interpreted the

relationship between the parks agency and Tourism Canada. One difficulty raised by the parks agency over the period of the early 1990s was that of forming marketing partnerships. For example, in an internal Parks Canada memo of 1994, a senior staff member expresses disappointment regarding the Tourism Canada position on other federal agencies' roles in marketing partnerships. The memo bemoans the fact that no recognition is made of the limited funds available for federal departments, nor of the special role of the parks system in attracting tourists. Tourism Canada is described as having a "...simplistic, self-serving perspective..." (DCH HTS 1994:1). By implication, Parks Canada's involvement in co-operation with Tourism Canada is complicated by this perspective and their objectives/mandates ensure that such a perspective cannot be embraced without seriously compromising the parks mandate.

It is clear that economic imperatives have driven the parks agency in the 1990s towards seeking greater co-operation with other organisations, Canada's NTO included.⁸³ The 1994 Parks Canada "Guiding Principles and Operational Policies" notes that collaboration and co-operation with a broad range of federal, provincial, territorial and municipal agencies, "is a cornerstone of policy, planning and management practices" (Parks Canada 1994:8). Among Parks Canada staff, there has been the recognition that certain changes may be necessary *within* their own organisation to meet this goal. For example, at a Partnerships Business Meeting in Vancouver, a Parks Canada senior manager made the comment that to capitalise on the potential for partnerships, Parks Canada must change its organisational structure, procedures, policies, guidelines and decision-making processes (DCH HTS 1996). It is cogent to contrast this with the approach of the CTC, which (as discussed below) does not appear to have compromised any of its institutional arrangements for the sake of facilitating partnerships – at least not with parks interests.

The move to change Parks Canada to a Special Operating Agency, realised in 1998, may have gone some way to addressing the above perceived needs, through allowing the organisation the financial flexibility to help facilitate relationships with business oriented organisations such as the CTC. Certainly, the Assistant Deputy Minister of Parks, Tom Lee, emphasised in 1996 that an ongoing relationship with the CTC would be the principle means by which Parks Canada would continue to contribute to tourism in Canada. Lee noted that 33% of tourism in Canada is heritage tourism, and that "Parks Canada were trying to utilise that to the advantage of the Canadian economy through co-operation with the CTC" (Standing Cttee on Canadian Heritage 1996:51). Likewise, the CTC, since its inception, stressed the importance of the new "Partnership Approach", and had released a video to this effect in 1996 (CTC 1996a). The emphasis on partnering in the CTC context appears to be on financial partnering, however, in

⁸³ These fiscal changes are discussed in Chapter Seven.

various promotional programmes of the Commission. As discussed above, because of the reduced policy role of the CTC, and also because of new revenue generating requirements for Parks Canada, this relationship has very little policy interplay, and is defined primarily through collaborative marketing efforts. What 'policy' interplay there may be is of an *ad hoc* nature and unlikely to be representative of the full range of interests of either organisation.

As an illustration of co-operation in the mid 1990s, in 1995, the formation of the Tourism Alliance for Western and Northern Canada (TAWNC) provided a potential avenue for co-operation between tourism interests, and between the CTC and Parks Canada. TAWNC was formed essentially to co-ordinate the promotion of the tourism product of the western and northern provinces and territories. The TAWNC agreement, signed in 1995, provided for representation and funding from the provincial and territorial governments' tourism organisations, and from a number of federal departments, including Industry Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage (the parent organisations of the CTC and Parks Canada respectively). Unfortunately, TAWNC was not to prove the vehicle for promotion or co-operation that had been hoped. Despite the initial agreement and commitment to co-operate, there appears to have been little or no input from the CTC or Parks Canada, and, as a consequence, TAWNC was disestablished in 1997. In contrast, in Atlantic Canada, the Department of Canadian Heritage is still active in the Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership, which has a similar role in that region (Department of Canadian Heritage 1995a).

The pattern established in the 1970s, of the NTO seeking greater involvement of the parks agency in tourism, and greater incorporation of the national parks into Canada's tourism product, has continued through to the 1990s. In 1994, an Industry Canada publication details how Canada would meet the "Canada-Japan two million visitor two way tourism challenge" (Industry Canada 1994). The strategy included developing Waterton Lakes National Park as a regional destination, and developing packages featuring Nahanni National Park. Although Parks Canada were not involved directly in producing these recommendations, the Tourism Canada committee responsible (New Products and Packaging Issues) included a member of the Heritage Tourism Secretariat, which reports directly to Parks Canada's parent department, Heritage Canada.

10.1.12 The Heritage Tourism Secretariat

The Heritage Tourism Secretariat (HTS) was established in 1994 by the Assistant Deputy Minister Parks, and is a Departmental programme, within the Department of Canadian Heritage (Parks Canada 1995a). The distinction between it being a Departmental programme as opposed to a Parks Canada programme is emphasised. The intent of forming the HTS was to bring support to Canada's heritage and for the Department of Canadian Heritage to take

some successful action on the economic side of the ledger, through operation of the Heritage Tourism Programme. The HTS was also seen as one integrating factor *within* the Department, which itself was formed from seven individual agencies (Parks Canada interview 3) (the initial seven agencies included various communications, film, archives, library and cultural heritage organisations, along with Parks Canada). The programme was intended to be a long term programme whereby the department would work with partners to develop and market tourism experiences based on Canada's natural and cultural heritage. The programme aimed to work with the tourism industry in order to build awareness of and support for Canada's heritage. It also sought to enhance international tourism and contribute to increased economic activity and employment (Department of Canadian Heritage 1995a).

The HTS comprises an Executive Director, plus support staff, with additional staff from across the Department of Canadian Heritage brought in on project work as required. The relationship between the HTS and Parks Canada is very strong, considering that all of the protected sites that are advocated by the HTS are managed by Parks Canada. HTS also represents the cultural heritage programmes and activities, and festivals etc. that the Department of Canadian Heritage has an involvement with. The support of Parks Canada top management was reportedly critical in the establishment of the HTS (Parks Canada interview 3).

10.1.13 The role of leadership

In 1997, communications between the 'chief executives' of both the NTO and the parks agency confirmed the organisations' commitment to co-operation. A memorandum from the Assistant Deputy Minister Parks (Tom Lee) to the President of the CTC (Doug Fyfe) (Parks Canada 1997f), in response to the CTC's discussion paper, "Challenges for Canada's Tourism Industry" (Lee was consulted for input), stresses the importance to Parks Canada of enhancing their co-operation with the tourism industry in "managing Canada's national parks and national historic sites", and in joining the CTC "in a strategic working partnership to co-ordinate the development of a common tourism vision" (Parks Canada 1997f:2).

In response to this memorandum, in a meeting between the ADM Parks, and the President of the CTC, Parks Canada was invited to participate on the CTC's two industry consultation committees: to establish a vision for Canada's tourism industry evolution over the next ten years; and to determine ways to better position and promote lesser known and visited parts of Canada (Parks Canada 1997h). Further, ways in which the two organisations could co-operate were listed, for example, through CTC staff contributing to the evaluation of promotion materials and activities, advising on the improvement and distribution of promotional material and contributing to a general awareness campaign within Canada. Fyfe (CTC) suggested that Parks Canada's "products" should be more prevalent in CTC's catalogues. It was agreed that

the Parks Canada External Relations Branch would be consulting with CTC leaders and staff to investigate ways of implementing the above suggestions. At this meeting, the two leaders agreed that appreciation of the scope and value of Canada's national parks and sites remains under-realised, particularly in Canada and the United States. Lee's statement that "the product is there and under-utilised" (Parks Canada 1997h:1) is certainly interesting considering the depth and range of feeling on this topic both within the parks agency, and amongst its stakeholders. To go so far as to suggest a role for the tourism industry in "managing" parks would certainly appear in some quarters to be a highly provocative statement. It also demonstrates that despite policy changes that have occurred, that the parks agency still operates within the 'utility' side of the 'utility' versus 'preservation' debate, especially in straightened economic circumstances.

Although the Parks Canada – CTC relationship has been described as relatively shallow, in the policy sense, this discussion between the two 'chief executives' indicated that there may in fact be wider policy goals emerging from the relationship – goals that are subsidiary and unpremeditated but highly significant nevertheless. At the above meeting, Parks Canada sought the support of the CTC in its "ongoing relationship with other members of the tourist industry", and likewise, the CTC sought Parks Canada assistance in "building relationships with other public sector parks and historic sites" (Parks Canada 1997h:2). Implicit in this discussion is an undertaking for each organisation to at least morally support the other in terms of advocating each other's interests within its own policy field: in other words, "I'll scratch your back, you scratch mine". This is an indication perhaps, that the basic marketing relationship between the organisations, although lacking in any meaningful policy interplay with respect to the long term sustainability of parks, could in some way act as a catalyst for the formation of broader, collaborative relationships in this policy domain.

10.1.14 Competing demands from other parks stakeholders

In another forum, however, Lee outlines some of the difficulties that Parks Canada has encountered in terms of co-operative relationships with partners. In terms of the quantity of partnerships, Lee notes that this aspect of Parks Canada's work is growing very rapidly. He identifies this as a challenge, because with the variety of partners that Parks Canada is engaging, the organisation is encountering competition between partners (Department of Canadian Heritage 1996a).

A further difficulty faced with partnerships is the loss of identity for the parks agency, and for the parks. Some partnership arrangements entered into by Parks Canada involve the tourism industry partner managing interpretative operations in particular sites. On occasion, the significance of the site being a *national park*, managed by Parks Canada is lost: "We have

situations, where an entire site, for example, is under management to a third party, and you can no longer find Canada [the federal government, Parks Canada or the Department of Canadian Heritage]" (Department of Canadian Heritage 1996a:7). Similarly, the potential loss of identity and loss of control has been cited by two Parks Canada programmes, the Parks Canada Volunteer Programme, and the Canadian Parks Partnership, as impediments to entering into and maintaining partnerships with external organisations (TBS 1999).⁸⁴ To help address some of the issues with partnering, Parks Canada established a course for staff on partnering related to its specific requirements (Department of Canadian Heritage 1996a).

In 1997, the CTC and the Department of Canadian Heritage collaborated on the production of a discussion paper on cultural and heritage tourism in Canada (CTC 1997f). The purpose of the paper was to promote dialogue between the tourism and heritage sectors, and to this end, a commitment was made to run a series of roundtables, organised by the CTC in conjunction with the Department of Canadian Heritage. One topic to be examined in these workshops was potential strategies for collaboration within the cultural/heritage tourism sector, and how to overcome barriers. The intended outcome would be the identification of mechanisms to build and maintain collaborative relationships between heritage and tourism.

10.1.15 Parks Canada External Relations Branch

A more recent Parks Canada initiative has been the establishment of the External Relations Branch, which was formed in 1997 and comprises 7 staff members across Canada. The role of the Branch is to co-ordinate the way that Parks Canada deals with external clients - users, stakeholders, Canadians at large, corporate Canada etc. Some of the staff members have specific experience in dealing with the tourism industry and have previously been employed in the industry. The External Relations Branch works to the Parks Canada Corporate Image and External Relations Strategy, which was produced in 1997. Stemming from that, a marketing strategy, a subdocument of the above Corporate Image and External Relations Strategy, was designed in 1997 (Parks Canada 1997e).⁸⁵

The Corporate Image and External Relations Strategy addresses a number of corporate image and relations issues. There is a strong emphasis on strategic positioning and profiling for Parks Canada and its products, greater cohesion and Parks Canada's marketing and external relations practices across the system, and greater internal co-operation and cross-marketing

⁸⁴ The Canadian parks partnership is a non-lobby, non-profit, charitable organisation that supports volunteer co-operating association groups. The partners in the CPP are parks Canada and over 60 co-operating associations involving over 10,000 Canadians. Co-operating associations support and enhance visitor activities, programmes and projects at Parks Canada parks or historic sites (TBS 1999).

⁸⁵ The Marketing Strategy was an internal document and not available to the writer.

among field units and regions. It also identifies the need for improved co-operation with outside interests (Parks Canada 1997e).

The Strategy also proposes a National Marketing Forum (NMF) made up of staff of the National Marketing Unit (NMU) plus marketing specialists from within and outside of the organisation. The NMF would have a role in the areas of stakeholder relations, developing partnerships, marketing research and marketing planning (Parks Canada 1997e). It was anticipated that NMU/NMF would have a close relationship with the existing Heritage Tourism Secretariat but with a closer focus on the tourism marketing requirements of Parks Canada field units and individual parks and sites.

10.2 The parks agency and the national tourism organisation – characterising the relationship

10.2.1 Summary

The relationship between Canada's NTO and its parks agency has changed significantly over time. Key factors in this change have been a broader perception of the role of national parks, economic realities and goals of the organisations, and the transient position of the agencies within the "federal family". The emerging role of interest groups has also been significant to the relationship.

Initially the relationship began as a simple exercise in the marketing of parks. This was a period when the goals of both agencies were clear and not compromised by concerns about the degradation of the parks environment, and of the visitor experience. These concerns did not emerge until the 1960s and 1970s when visitor numbers to parks increased to the extent that impacts had become a major issue. At this time, the historic relationship between the two organisations was challenged. It was challenged by the changing, more pluralistic parks policy environment that made it more difficult for the parks agency to accommodate the needs and desires of the tourism industry, as enunciated by the NTO.

The 1970s were also a period when the tourism industry emerged in Canada as a recognised source of foreign exchange, and as a significant industry. The maturation of the industry meant a greater policy role for the NTO, and a greater tourism advocacy role, which was demonstrated through a more or less unabated call for national parks to play a greater role in Canadian tourism – tourism interests sought greater access to what was seen as the commodity base for the industry. Indications are that there was some degree of policy conflict over this time. This conflict may have been exacerbated by the role of interest groups that, although

drawing upon existing contradictions, served to some extent to entrench the positions of both parties.

The concerns of the tourism industry, along with a new atmosphere for federal inter-departmental co-operation led to the development of a range of institutional arrangements to facilitate the relationship in the 1970s. The success of these arrangements is uncertain, but for a period there was a moderate amount of structured co-operation between the agencies, in terms of staff training, staff exchange, and some joint research. This co-operation was facilitated partly by the federal government's economy-environment thrust, in which the role of parks tourism as a regional economic development tool was acknowledged by the parks agency. It was also facilitated through the NTO at the time having a substantial policy role that included consciously developing policy links with other federal agencies. The policy role also included assessing the wider implications of its marketing practices, with sustainable tourism being an acknowledged consideration for a period from the late 1980s.

By the 1990s the policy environment had changed again significantly, with the goal of ecological integrity for national parks firmly in place. But alongside this new mandate, the parks agency was faced with an urgent need to generate revenue, and developed approaches to do so. New institutional arrangements to facilitate this new type of interorganisational relationship were developed, including developing marketing arrangements with the NTO. Because the new NTO has a limited policy role, *and* because of economic imperatives for the parks agency, the new relationship is characterised as narrow, and perhaps of limited use in terms of long term collaboration regarding sustainable tourism development in national parks.

It could be said that the relationship has come full circle, now closely resembling the early period of the initial relationship, when it revolved around a simple exercise in the marketing of parks, and of Canada. Is the relationship between the NTO and the parks agency mutually beneficial? Yes, but in terms of reciprocity, the relationship is probably more beneficial to the parks agency than the NTO. In its current position, the parks agency needs the marketing skills and reach of the NTO more so than the NTO needs the resources that the parks agency can bring to the table. Canada's NTO has historically used images of the national parks in promoting the country – parks are an indispensable part of the Canadian image. These images will continue to be available and utilised regardless of the co-operation of the parks agency.

10.2.2 The interorganisational relations perspective

To describe the historical relationship between the parks agency and the NTO in terms of interorganisational theory, it is apparent that significant changes have occurred in the study domain over the period of the relationship. Initially both organisations were drawn to the

relationship through the contingency of reciprocity: the Parks Branch recognised the need to generate a constituency through the promotion of national parks and utilised the services of the CTB to do so. For the CTB, the Parks Branch were one of its main clients, and also, as national parks were key images in their overall programme of promoting Canadian tourism, maintaining a relationship with the Parks Branch who had the expertise and knowledge of parks, would have been seen to have value. From the Parks Branch point of view, the relationship was also motivated by the contingency of efficiency in that the Parks Branch had lost its marketing staff to the newly formed CTB and recognised the value of continuing to utilise these skills, as likely being more cost effective than attempting to undertake promotional work 'in-house'.

In terms of the specific linkages, the relationship was narrow in the sense that it revolved around the simple 'selling' of parks: thus although there appeared to be a high degree of stability (the relationship remained in this form for about 30 years), the degree of multiplexity was low. For a particular period, 1950-1962, the relationship had a high degree of intensity, as judging by the substantial amount of parks publicity material released, much of it prepared jointly, there was quite a significant commitment of resources to the relationship.

In the early period of the relationship, facilitating factors included a positive mutual awareness and trust, aided by CTB staff having worked previously for the Parks Branch. Linked to this, was a coincidence of values in terms of how the image of parks was to be presented. And over the 1950s, the structural proximity of the two organisations, both being in the same federal department, further facilitated the relationship.

The nature of the entire national park – tourism domain also likely facilitated this individual relationship, as the domain for a substantial period could be described as being well organised, with a high degree of domain consensus. This was related to the domain having a limited membership, and those members having convergent values i.e. the role of parks in tourism and regional and national development was undisputed.

The situation was to change from the 1960s, when the domain devolved into an underorganised state, primarily due to the influence of other stakeholders (environmental groups) seeking legitimacy, and not possessing convergent values with existing domain members.

This development influenced the parks agency's view of park tourism, and consequently its approach to the promotion of national parks. Up until the late 1950s, publicity for parks has simply been designed to attract visitors to parks, and this role had been fulfilled ably by the

NTO. But from the 1960s attempts were made to convey more of a conservation message, and this, the Parks Branch progressively undertook in-house, thus impacting on the established relationship with the CGTB. The CGTB's role too was changing over this time, with recognition of tourism as an industry leading to the CGTB gaining a growing policy advocacy role, thus setting the scene for potential conflict with the parks agency.

By the late 1960s, the need for improved interorganisational relations had been mandated by the federal government, and through necessity, the parks agency sought to re-establish what were now seen as poor relationships with the tourism sector. Over the late 1970s, the CGOT was also prompted by outside interests (the critical contingency of necessity operating) to improve its relationships, especially with interests outside of the immediate tourism domain. The relationship then over this time, although motivated by outside forces to some extent was also motivated by the contingency of reciprocity: scarce resources led the parks agency to seek the marketing skills of the NTO, while over this period, the NTO continually sought improved access to national parks for tourism development. Evidence of a range of institutional arrangements to facilitate the relationship over this period point to a high degree of formalisation of the relationship. Staff exchanges and joint policy work point to a recognition of the value of co-operation and a certain amount of mutual awareness and trust. Attempts to further intensify the relationship were however inhibited by a difference in values between the organisations – with for example, the parks agency accusing CGOT staff of not being aware of the purpose of parks.

Over the most recent phase of the relationship the reality of scarce resources from the parks agency's view has provided even greater motivation to develop a more intense relationship with the NTO. However, the parks agency has recognised a number of factors that continue to inhibit the relationship: these include organisational structure, procedures, policies guidelines, decision-making process and organisational norms. Changes have been made that address some of these, through restructuring, gaining Special Operating Agency status, and developing structures such as the Heritage Tourism Secretariat and the External Relations Branch which would serve to standardise, stabilise and formalise the relationship. The current relationship between the parks agency and the NTO could be compared with that existing in the early days, with a moderate to high level of formalisation and intensity, but the linkage being quite narrow, being defined primarily in terms of a marketing agreement.

Although external forces, such as the actions of the Treasury Board have been critical in necessitating recent relationships for the parks agency, a further key facilitating factor has been the current leadership of the organisation. Tom Lee, in a similar manner to the first Director, Harkin, has been a strong advocate for tourism and partnerships in general. Whether

the *importance* of links with tourism interests is recognised throughout the parks agency, is however, another question. Finally, the *multiplicity* of linkages that the parks agency maintains, is itself seen as an inhibiting factor, with a high degree of competition evident among partners. One of the factors impacting on the relationship between the NTO and the parks agency has been the role played by interest groups. Their role will be further considered in Chapters Twelve and Thirteen.

The next chapter will consider the current relationship between the parks agency and the NTO, as revealed through in depth interviews with participants in the relationship.

Chapter 11: Parks Canada and the Canadian Tourism Commission: participants' accounts of the current relationship

11.1 The participants' accounts of the current relationship

Previous chapters present the historic and contemporary contexts for current relationships between organisations in this study. Chapter Five outlined the context for the development of sustainable tourism in Canada, in terms of the institutional arrangements made. Chapter six examined the context for the development of relations in Canada between federal organisations, and between federal organisations and interest groups, including business interests and environmental non-governmental organisations. Further chapters provided an overview of each stakeholder's policies and positions within the domain with respect to national park tourism, and provide an historical overview and analysis of how various processes have shaped interorganisational relations within the domain.

This chapter examines participants' accounts of the nature of the current interorganisational relationships between the key stakeholders in the domain. A key aspect of this research is to identify those factors that currently facilitate or inhibit the relationships between the organisations under study, and to consider these factors on a range of levels from macro to micro. The focus of this chapter is to examine the above relationships as observed through a personal or interpretive lens. The perceptions of personnel currently working at the contemporary interface between the organisations are explored through an analysis of interview material (see Chapter Four "Methodology"). This analysis also draws on the wider understanding of this domain outlined in previous chapters. Where appropriate, and necessary, the interview material is clarified by the inclusion of supportive material from other sources.

This chapter will examine the relationship between Parks Canada and the Canadian Tourism Commission. In Chapters Twelve and Thirteen, consideration will be given to the relationships that these organisations have with significant other stakeholders in this domain.

Many facilitating (and inhibiting) factors emerged from interviews with key informants in the above organisations. For analytical purposes these may be divided into macro and micro categories, depending upon the source and scale of the influences. However, it should be noted that this division is in some respects quite artificial. For example, staff morale on the surface appears to be a micro-factor, but in reality is linked to macro-economic policy which in turn has resulted in restructuring, retrenchment, uncertainty and change, and has directly impacted

on these personnel. Indeed, just as the interface between organisations is important, so too is the interface between macro level change and micro level change and responses. For the purpose of this analysis, macro factors are considered to be those that are predominantly outside of the individual's or organisation's control.

11.2 Macro or contextual factors influencing the relationship

There are a number of macro scale factors that have influenced the way that organisations, particularly the federal organisations, interact with other organisations in the study. Perhaps the most substantial of these macro influences has been changes in government fiscal policy. These have impacted on government departments in a number of ways. Most obviously, the resourcing of government departments is typically reduced, accompanied by downsizing in terms of staff numbers achieved through restructuring on a geographic and/or functional basis, with the overarching goal of economic efficiency. This trend has led to an increased focus on self-funding, and the loss of roles that are no longer seen as 'core business', and thus effects the way that government bodies 'do business' every day.

Another macro scale factor is the influence of the environmental and sustainable development movements. Recently, the adoption of sustainable development as a guiding principle by the federal government has impacted on many areas of governmental and non-governmental activity in Canada (see Chapter Five, which has explored what has happened in practice). In theory, this should have influenced the way that organisations relate to one another by creating a common focus for organisations in terms of their medium to long term planning i.e. organisations all will need to consider the broader environmental implications of their actions, and will need to interact with one another in order to plan for this. Coupled with the above factors, is the influence of an emergent 'partnership paradigm', driven mainly by economic imperatives.

11.2.1 Federal macro-economic policy

One of the key macro factors influencing relationships between the organisations in this study is government economic policy. Since the mid-late 1980s the role of the state in Canada has changed considerably. Participants perceive that the emphasis on privatisation of previously state owned and run organisations, accompanied by deregulation in many sectors of the economy has influenced the relationships between the organisations in this study. Since the 1980s government policy has typically involved reducing government spending. This has been driven by monetarist policies that have placed a greater emphasis on reducing or

eliminating Canada's substantial federal deficit (Brooks and Stritch 1986).⁸⁶ The resultant changes within government organisations raises the question of how these changes have impacted on interorganisational relationships. The most obvious way that the 'retreat of the state' has affected these organisations is in terms of the resourcing available to them. Naturally, this has affected the federal government bodies to a greater degree, but there have also been ramifications for interest groups (these ramifications are discussed in Chapter Twelve).

11.2.2 Reduced funding and revenue generation

Parks Canada is a federal organisation that has been impacted quite severely by changes to its funding base. The change in the nature of funding for Parks Canada and increased reliance upon tourism generated revenue has definite implications for Parks Canada's relations with the tourism industry. Interviewees were well aware of these implications:

Because of the whole fiscal context, Parks Canada is in need of new ways of generating revenues to be able to continue operating and expanding the system, and so direct revenues from the market become a more attractive solution than simple public appropriations (Parks Canada interview 6).

Parks Canada net appropriations were projected to drop from \$271.8 million in 1994/95 to \$229.2 million in 1999/00 (Parks Canada 1995b). There are three factors involved in this fall in appropriations: cuts to "A-base" funding; Green Plan funds sunseting in 1996/97; and reductions in response to the Programme Review. This shortfall is expected to be countered by increased revenue generation. The primary source of revenue for Parks Canada is that from parks user fees. Parks Canada has been charging fees for services since the establishment of access to the Banff Hot Springs in the 1880s (Parks Canada 1995b). Fees are also charged for services provided in relation to Parks Canada's role as property and community manager. From 1995-2000 Parks Canada has projected an increase of 100% of annual revenue generation. This increase is based on progressive implementation of cost recovery for services, increased compliance, and "co-operation with partners and stakeholders to increase the number of visitors" to parks and sites (Parks Canada 1995b:49).⁸⁷ The Parks Canada National Business Plan (1995/1996-1999/2000) outlines how parks and sites have "not realised their current market potential"...

⁸⁶ The federal deficit in 1996-97 was \$8.9 billion, which was the lowest deficit since 1976-77. Between 1987 and 1997 the federal deficit reached to over \$40 billion in the years 1992-93 and 1993-94 (Department of Finance 1997b).

⁸⁷ The 1995/1996 - 1999-2000 National Business Plan details a decision making framework for funding options for services provided by Parks Canada, based upon their public good component.

We are currently still looking upon that [tourism] as a source of revenue and we're looking at mechanisms to increase visitation in parks (Parks Canada interview 4).

Between 1989 and 1993, accountable revenue hovered around \$30-35 million. Revenue projections are for \$60 million by the year 1999/2000. Of this, \$23 million or 33% of is projected to arise from access fees, and the remainder mainly from cost recovery. A substantial proportion of the increased cost recovery will come from visitors, and services associated with visitation to parks and sites: "significant amounts of revenue will be obtained from expenditures made by the greater volume of customers who will purchase Parks Canada goods and services" (Parks Canada 1995b:93).

11.2.3 Funding the relationship with CTC

As described above, Parks Canada has made a conscious decision to increase tourism earnings. One mechanism for assisting in achieving this goal is enhancing relations with tourism interests. To this end, the Business Plan lists a number of "Strategic Issues", including "Reaching our Clients: Tourism" (Parks Canada 1995b:33). In this section of the Plan, the critical issue for Parks Canada is described as maintaining its current client base and expanding its reach to "new high yield markets" (Parks Canada 1995b:33). Consequent objectives are listed, and include developing close co-operative relations with industry and stakeholders. A specific expected achievement for 1996/96 was to "become actively involved in the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) strategies for Canada" (Parks Canada 1995b:34). This section will consider the Parks Canada – CTC relationship, and consider the issue of funding as a potential facilitator or inhibitor of this relationship.

As discussed previously, the CTC runs a number of partner programmes, based on partners contributing funding towards these (primarily marketing/promotional) programmes. Access to decision making concerning these programmes is determined by ability to contribute financially towards the programmes. In other words, a certain amount of financial liquidity contributes significantly to stakeholder legitimacy. This indeed is born out in the most obvious way by the make up of the CTC Board of Directors and the various CTC programme committees who comprise primarily representatives of large companies in the tourism sector (CTC 1995a). There is representation of federal and provincial interests, but these are limited to those interests that have the ability to contribute substantial amounts of money towards the above programmes i.e. Industry Canada, which provides about 50% of CTC funding, and the provincial/territorial tourism organisations who also have access to considerable marketing budgets. This prerequisite is fairly explicitly stated. Indeed the issue of representation on the Board of the CTC is not confined to Parks Canada. One of the ongoing criticisms of Canada's

national tourism organisation, historically, and one that CTC seems to have inherited is that there is inadequate representation of small to medium business interests, and that national tourism marketing and promotion decisions are dominated by an 'oligarchy' of large tourism business interests (Hawkins 1997).

This situation may have limited Parks Canada's ability to provide input to various aspects of CTC's promotional activities:

If you are going to vote on the Asia-Pacific Marketing Committee, you have to demonstrate that you are spending \$75,000 a year on marketing activities in Asia. So quite clearly, you pay to play - we don't play there. We're a little guy at these big tables. Compared to domestic marketing, the Department of Canadian Heritage spent a lot of money on developing material, and was considered sufficient to be a player. In the kind of hard-edged marketing activities there is a pay to play kind of relationship and we've had a hard time factoring in on that (Parks Canada interview 3).

The situation then is that Parks Canada is being pushed through fiscal realities towards developing partnerships: "...we have no money to go it alone - partnerships are us." (Parks Canada interview 2); "...if you don't have enough money to accomplish something, you have to go shopping around for partners" (Associate interview 1). However its ability to fund these partnerships is questionable, a point acknowledged by senior Parks Canada staff involved in the CTC relationship (Parks Canada interview 8). The financial constraints of Parks Canada do not just effect its relations with CTC but also with other tourism organisations, such as provincial tourism organisations. Speaking of the relationship between Banff National Park and Tourism Alberta, the Park Superintendent made the comment that one of the obstacles to the relationship was "the assumption that Parks Canada has more money than it does" (Parks Canada interview 1). Similarly, with respect to the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, a partly federally funded development agency who were looking for partners to assist in small tourism development in the Maritime provinces:

... they don't have the skills, they don't have the capability, so they're shopping for partners in places like Parks Canada and Environment Canada, to say 'can you help us make this happen?'. And the answer is 'No, not our mandate, we don't have any money...' (Associate interview 1).

However, stakeholder legitimacy may also be gained from contributions that are not necessarily of a financial nature - for example the resources that Parks Canada have in terms of their knowledge of national parks and sites, their staff and resources within these sites, and various promotional resources concerning these sites that have been developed internally: "you have to put value on the table [with CTC], bucks is the most tangible form of value, but we've talked about coming in with information, written work, and we've had some success with CTC" (Parks Canada interview 7).

The CTC acknowledges that they seek support (funding) from all their partners, “but that is not to say that if there was no budget available from Parks Canada, that they would not be represented” (CTC interview 1). It seems that Parks Canada involvement is permitted in certain projects where non-financial contributions are acceptable:

There’s no bucks involved, almost nothing to speak of. Certainly their staff time they’re putting in to this is worth something, and the staff incur expenses in travel and other things working with us, and on occasion when we’re doing some joint advertising and they have to put in their portion of the dollars just like if we were working with CP Hotels or Air Canada, and they have to put in their share of the dollars...but bucks is not a determining criteria. If it comes to an ad, bucks is a determining criteria, but just about anything else, it isn’t (CTC interview 4).

However, this is a disputed point, with some contradictory interview material emerging. Overall it would appear that money *is* an issue. Although other CTC staff acknowledge that Parks Canada is very good in contributing in non-monetary ways, for example, through its knowledge of the park system, and by developing copy, it seems that Parks Canada’s inability to contribute to the major marketing programmes of the CTC limits the two organisations’ relationship in terms of a number of dimensions of the dyad: stability, multiplexity and intensity. As one CTC employee put it, “the Parks Canada budget this time around is very small - if we had more money we could do more together” (CTC interview 2).

Ironically, it seems that although there may have been an increased emphasis on partnerships and co-operative relationships resulting from government spending reductions and the consequent drive for increased revenue generation through tourism, the relatively low amount of discretionary funding available to Parks Canada has affected its ability to form and maintain certain relationships. Inadequate funding is thus both the facilitator and the inhibiting factor in a relationship such as this where direct financial contributions are required to maintain it.

11.2.4 Parks Canada and the CTC ‘doing business’

In addition to the above financial consideration, the disparity between the way that Parks Canada and the CTC ‘do business’ has been identified as an inhibiting factor. Parks Canada at the time of study was a typical federal government organisation, and from a business point of view was said to demonstrate many of the attributes associated with being such an organisation: for example, a monolithic inflexible financial system, multi-layered, bureaucratic, and consequently slow in decision making.

This sentiment is also shared by some Parks Canada staff, who admit problems with dealing with CTC in terms of the pace of decisions, and budgeting (Parks Canada interview 8). That this is an issue is confirmed by sources outside of the two organisations. One participant, a

tourism consultant reports that “the lack of understanding in Parks Canada of what a tourism business is, I think, [is] a critical issue” (Associate interview 2).

There is, however, evidence throughout Parks Canada of the organisation putting itself on a more business-like footing. For instance, traditionally the most important decision making documents for park managers in the field units were the park management plan and the resource conservation plan, whereas recently, there has been more emphasis on business plans (Parks Canada interview 5).

As the Parks Canada National Business Plan (1995/1996-1999/2000) states, “Without substantial new government financing, parks Canada is dependent upon its overall financial performance for establishing new parks and sites” (Parks Canada 1995b: 44). The Business Plan indicates a new direction for parks Canada, and confirms their adoption of a more business-oriented approach to park and site management:

...over the past few years, parks Canada has demonstrated that outdated rules can be changed, that empowerment can work in a government context and that a combination of public sector and other expertise can lead to improved economic returns, better service to clients and enhanced protection and commemoration of protected heritage areas (Parks Canada 1995b:45).

The Plan outlines the importance of setting objectives targets, policies and performance measurements related to financial performance, and the key roles of the business plan and business units within each region.

The most obvious recent initiative to achieve a better business base has been the plan to create a Parks Canada agency. At the time of study, the plan to change Parks Canada from a traditional government department into a Special Operating Agency was seen in a positive light by the CTC. Agency status was perceived to put Parks Canada on a firmer business footing, with potential to enhance its ability to interact with the CTC (at that time the CTC was already established as a Special Operating Agency within Industry Canada).

Some comments from CTC staff indicate that they were looking forward to being able to “do business” with Parks Canada in a more business-like manner, without the trappings of dealing with a government bureaucracy: “Anything that will make their role more current with the way that people do business will be good” (CTC interview 2). Similarly there is a perception within Parks Canada that Agency status will enhance certain organisational relationships - as another participant observed:

The Special Operating Agency status has also meant putting Parks Canada on a more commercial basis and means of supporting its appropriations, [and] has meant working more closely with the CTC. I think that the changes in the way that the federal government is organised to deliver against its mandate is having a major

impact...the CTC is part of this new mechanism. On the other hand you have an experiment like the creation of the Parks Canada Agency which is also part of the reshaping of government (Parks Canada Agency is only one of several agencies which are being created around Canada - by April 1st [1997], about 60,000 public servants will be put in separate government agencies). Parks Canada is becoming a lot more reliant on the market for part of its revenue. (Parks Canada interview 6).

11.2.5 The intersection of monetarism and environmentalism - organisational priorities redefined?

Although there have been forces operating to put government on a more commercial basis which reflect the influence of the global monetarism that has widely affected western economies since the mid 1980's, there have also been other widespread movements or changes in attitude, such as an increased awareness of and concern for the environment. In Canada, the environmental movement impacted on the national parks-tourism domain from the early 1970s. Sustainable development is a later phenomenon, not becoming a paradigm for the federal government until the late 1980s (Dale and Robinson 1996). Previous chapters have illustrated the effect of environmentalism historically upon relationships within the national parks domain: with relationships between parks and tourism interests deteriorating. Has the embracing of the sustainable development paradigm by Canada further impacted these relationships? Although some commentators would say that environmentalism has been most effectively crystallised by the call for sustainable development of resources, (as discussed in Chapter Two) detractors of the latter would distinguish between the two, describing sustainable development as at best a compromise between economic and environmental interests (e.g. Sunderlin 1995).

As identified earlier, the adoption of sustainable development as a guiding principle by the federal government has impacted on many areas of governmental and non-governmental activity in Canada (see Chapter Five). In theory, this should have influenced the way that organisations relate to one another by creating a common focus for organisations in terms of their medium to long term planning i.e. organisations all will need to consider the environmental *and* economic and social implications of their actions, and will need to interact with one another in order to plan for this. However, as discussed in Chapter Five, although this framework for co-operation has been established, a number of obstacles to sustainable development as an organising concept for co-ordination within the Canadian federal government have been identified (e.g. Sadler 1996).

It is clear that the forces of environmentalism, sustainability and of monetarism have all been acting contemporaneously. To what extent have these forces interacted to influence the manner in which the study organisations relate to one another with respect to sustainable

tourism development? Within Parks Canada in particular, there is a recognition of the combined influence of these factors:

On the one hand Parks Canada is going towards more commercialisation and increased revenues from some activities, and on the other hand you have the tourism industry realising that you can't just continue exploiting these things blithely until they collapse...parks is going a little less green...it's this whole dynamic of economics, internal finances and environmental pressure that are interacting very actively. For me, that's the biggest influence on the way that Parks Canada relates to the tourism industry - both organisations are changing the way that they relate to the outside world (Parks Canada interview 6)

That the 'twin forces' of economy and environment are interacting in such a way in this policy domain, is perhaps indicative of the pervading influence of the sustainable development paradigm. That is, that typically sectoral interests are becoming more appreciative of the broader ramifications of their policies. In this case, this result may not have come about from altruistic intentions, but rather from more fiscal imperatives. The question is whether the result or outcome is the same as it would be if driven by green initiatives.

In terms of the magnitude and impact of the forces operating to produce such changes in the domain, there is evidence to suggest that some members of the domain are more susceptible than are others. The significant impact of economic forces upon the parks agency has already been discussed. Parks Canada is being entirely reshaped so that it can deliver more cost effectively against its mandate, and indeed one could argue that its entire organisational norm with respect to tourism in the parks and its relationship with the tourism industry and responsibility in the terms of contributing to tourism sector earnings, is undergoing a radical rethink. These forces have also been active on Canada's national tourism organisation, with a radical change in the funding base and move to greater private interest control of activities, accompanied by a slimming-down of roles and responsibilities. But what effect has environmentalism had? The impact of environmental forces upon Parks Canada appears to have been greater than upon organisations such as the CTC. Again, Parks Canada has been subject to huge changes brought about by an increased environmental awareness. These are manifest in increasingly protectionist policies towards tourism development, with now paramount consideration being given to ecological integrity within parks. This attempt to address the dual mandate dilemma has been accompanied by a strengthened monitoring and reporting procedure through the State of the Parks reports and other initiatives (Parks Canada 1997).

11.2.6 Influence of the sustainable development paradigm on the National Tourism Organisation

The consequences of environmentalism and sustainability for Canada's national tourism organisation are unclear. The previous discussion in Chapter Nine has revealed that since 1995, legislation effecting the change from Tourism Canada to the CTC has ensured that the CTC mandate is now very narrowly defined, and the role of the CTC is that primarily of a marketing organisation. Policy responsibilities have been ostensibly assumed by the parent department, Industry Canada. Previous broader policy roles that were included within Tourism Canada's portfolio, have, because of the CTC's inaction in this area, effectively been removed.

There's not really a focus on the other kinds of social impact or the environment, it's not one of the major identified priority areas of concern at the moment...it was more of a concern some years back, under Tourism Canada... Under CTC you have the focus of the combined government-industry consortium has narrowed, to be primarily a marketing organisation. And so the primary *raison d'être* of that marketing thrust has been to include the economic health of that industry and employment as important specific objectives...the dimensions of environmental costs or environmental sustainability have not come into focus under the changing focus (CTC interview 5).

Whereas Tourism Canada had some responsibility for ascertaining the environmental implications of its tourism promotional policies, the CTC has none. A number of previous Tourism Canada employees confirm that there was sustainable tourism policy work undertaken by the organisation. For example, Tourism Canada had a "sustainable tourism programme... when they had a policy and planning shop, before they became just an advertising agency [when CTC was created]" (Associate interview 1). Tourism Canada did have a presence in the area of sustainable tourism, and became actively involved in discussing tourism's role with respect to sustainability at the Globe 90 and 92 conferences in Vancouver: "[Tourism Canada] felt tourism is an industry and there are environmental issues related to tourism..." (Parks Canada interview 7). Another CTC participant, a previous employee of Tourism Canada confirms that there was some work on tourism sustainability that was undertaken in 1992 (CTC interview 5).

11.2.7 Current role of the national tourism organisation with respect to sustainable tourism

However, it appears that this past policy role has not been picked up by any other federal body since the disestablishment of Tourism Canada. Theoretically, the policy role exists within the Department of Industry, "but there's no one in there with a tourism hat *per se* except in their Aboriginal development programme" (Associate interview 2).

The implications of the amended Auditor General Act (Auditor General 1995) regarding the requirement of the CTC to produce or contribute to a Sustainable Development Strategy (SDS) are unclear. Parks Canada have been required to produce a Sustainable Development Strategy, a contribution to their departmental SDS. However, at the time of undertaking this research, the CTC was neither producing its own SDS nor contributing towards a departmental one. The CTC's parent department, Industry Canada produced their SDS in 1997. Neither the issue scan for this policy exercise, nor the resultant document refers to tourism specifically as a sustainable development issue for the department (Industry Canada 1997). As an illustration of the lack of clarity over this role, the only overt policy output relating to sustainable tourism, the 1999 discussion document (CTC 1999), appears to seek guidance from the industry as to the position it should adopt in this area, rather than state a policy position in this area.

11.2.8 How is sustainable tourism interpreted in Parks Canada?

This section will address how personnel in these two different organisations interpret the meaning of sustainable tourism development, and particularly in relation to the national park context. The extent to which the commonality or otherwise of these interpretations impact on interorganisational relations will be explored.

An interesting feature of the interviews with Parks Canada personnel was that the term "sustainable tourism" was never used voluntarily in the context of parks and visitors. It was always evoked by the interviewer. When this observation was put to a planning consultant who had worked with Parks Canada, he said "I don't think that they realise that they're in the compromise business!" (Associate interview 1).

As noted above, the Department of Canadian Heritage initiated work on their Sustainable Development Strategy (SDS) in 1996. Parks Canada's contribution to this was nearing completion at the time of this study, in 1997. The draft Parks Canada SDS went out for public consultation in spring 1997. The consultation was not extensive, but rather focussed on specific groups e.g. ENGOs, academics. One of the authors, was uncertain whether or not tourism interests were consulted (Parks Canada interview 2). However, it is normal practice in the preparation of an SDS to consult other federal departments, so it is highly likely that at least Industry Canada were aware of the document, especially considering that 150 stakeholders were consulted (Parks Canada 1997g).

The Department of Canadian Heritage SDS is discussed in Chapter Five, where it is noted that the term "sustainable tourism development" does not occur within the SDS. According to one informant from Parks Canada, this is because Parks Canada has no policy or legislative framework for sustainable tourism. Sustainable tourism is however characterised in a

different way: “It doesn’t mean that we’re not doing it, but it just has a different label. In many ways we’re very supportive of it, but in terms that are defined by our legislation and policy, rather than by definitions imposed by others” (Parks Canada interview 5). Another Parks Canada participant also believes that whether or not sustainable tourism development is taken on board by the organisation is a question of semantics: “Obviously our view is to sustain the parks” (Parks Canada interview 4). This is also the view of another Parks Canada staff member: “...that is what Parks Canada is - about sustainability in a world of development - it is one of the main positioning principles for Parks Canada” (Parks Canada interview 6). It is acknowledged that the draft SDS is “kind of weak” in the tourism area (Parks Canada interview 5).

An important issue with respect to Sustainable Development Strategies is that of accountability. It is acknowledged that for the Parks Canada SDS there is no specific link between the SDS and the State of the Parks reporting - probably the main accountability mechanism for Parks Canada in terms of ecological integrity (Parks Canada interview 5). The link between the SDS and the Parks Canada Guiding Principles and Policies is also uncertain. Among the Parks Canada staff interviewed, there is some cynicism towards the SDS process. One interviewee, for example, believes that the SDS exercise within Parks Canada was “*pro forma*”, and completed by a junior staff member with “not much interest paid to it” (Parks Canada interview 1).

11.2.9 Perceptions of sustainable tourism development among Canadian Tourism Commission staff

CTC staff note that although they do not have the mandate to consider sustainability issues in their activities, ultimately tourism in Canada depends on the integrity or sustainability of its natural heritage (e.g. CTC interview 5; CTC interview 1; CTC interview 3). However sustainability is “not always necessarily in front of mind when we are developing the creative component of a promotional and advertising campaign” (CTC interview 1).

One CTC participant believes that the CTC *is* representing the perspective of sustainable tourism, and although it does not have a mandate for this, it does nevertheless promote sustainable tourism. This is done through encouraging the industry to follow sustainable practices, and disseminating information on these. CTC maintains some of the codes of ethics that have been developed by the industry (CTC interview 4). They also note, for example, that the CTC provides information to the industry on the study that they undertook on the greening of the tourism industry. This study, was however undertaken by Tourism Canada and merely inherited by the CTC. Recently, the CTC reviewed and commented on the Banff Bow Valley study. The CTC were “very much representing the perspective of sustainable tourism” and

“were very much in favour of the conservation ethic” (CTC interview 4). Note that this participant’s definition of conservation embraces preservation and wise management, which includes an element of use (CTC interview 4).

The participant also refers to the workshops that the CTC had run across Canada, on ecotourism and adventure travel, and also on cultural tourism, noting that sustainable tourism development was discussed in both of these contexts (CTC interview 4). However, a tourism consultant who was on the steering committee for a CTC study on adventure travel and ecotourism, noted that it “had an element of marketing about it...it was very much supply side, ‘what’s our product?’, because that’s easy to study” (Associate interview 2). Both this and another participant perceive a lack of interest at the federal level for sustainable tourism development, and believe that any initiatives in this respect will come from regional tourism offices at the provincial level, whom they believe to be more pro-active on this front (Associate interview 2; Associate interview 1).

Moreover, when other CTC staff were asked about what specific initiatives have come from the CTC regarding sustainable tourism, no information was forthcoming. No staff mentioned the requirement for the CTC or at least its parent department, to produce a SDS. One staff member was unaware of this requirement, and another commented “Other departments have more this mandate of sustainability, our mandate is more to promote the tourism industry” (CTC interview 3). With respect to responsible marketing of destinations such as national parks, a CTC staff member commented “I think it’s more the role of Parks Canada to address the issue of what is sustainable in the parks” (CTC interview 3).

It is also pointed out that the CTC would not openly stand up on any issue facing the industry, sustainable development or otherwise, and advocate a position openly, publicly: “We primarily leave that to industry associations, trade associations, but we work very much behind the scenes on advocating certain kinds of practices and so on” (CTC interview 4). The question remains, “why do they operate ‘behind the scenes’”? Indeed, is this a euphemism for not undertaking work in this area at all? Unfortunately, with the lack of documentary evidence, this kind of work is difficult for the researcher to verify. One can only conclude that because of the lack of CTC mandate in this area, and the lack of any visible policy statements or output, coupled with the participants perceptions above, that, at the time of this study, CTC efforts with respect to sustainable tourism were minimal.

11.2.10 A future role for the National Tourism Organisation in promoting sustainable tourism development?

As noted in Chapter Nine, in 1997, the CTC produced a white paper titled “Challenges for the Canadian Tourism Industry” (CTC 1997e). This paper promulgates the idea of expanding the mandate of the CTC to enable the CTC to provide co-ordination not just in national marketing, but also in terms of national tourism development, from a product development and industry development perspective:

We have suggested that the success of the marketing organisation should be extended into a full portfolio, and if that were to come to pass, then I think we would have the basis for improved co-ordination on the development side. And if we had that, we would have the basis for giving more attention to the sustainable development issues (CTC interview 5).

Most recently, in 1999, the CTC produced a discussion document on sustainable tourism from the industry point of view (CTC 1999b). Notable features of this document are that it does not specifically consider the role of the CTC, rather ‘the industry’, and that there is a lack of specific steps or proposals for the industry to help facilitate sustainable tourism development. In light of the lack of any concrete organisational mandate, institutional arrangements, or policy products through which it has, or could, contribute to sustainable tourism development, one must question the CTC commitment towards sustainable tourism development as an organisational or industry goal.

11.2.11 Is sustainability pulling the organisations together?

As one Department of Canadian Heritage staff member put it, “the Parks Canada relationship with the CTC still does hinge on some of the use/protection issues” (Parks Canada interview 3). This tension is acknowledged by CTC staff: “There will always be a tension due to the differences in the mandates of the two organisations...we don’t have anything in our mandate that forces us to give a strong emphasis to those [natural/historic integrity] values” (CTC interview 5). However, when questioned about the possible need for a change in mandate to consider the above values, there are different opinions among CTC staff. Some feel that there should be, from a marketing point of view, and that the CTC needs to work with the parks system to maintain the quality of the systems as one the key strategic strengths of selling tourism in Canada. It is significant that from the CTC staff point of view, any need to consider natural values is framed entirely within a business perspective, as opposed to considering the need to protect natural systems for their intrinsic values alone. Others within the CTC (CTC interview 3) however, feel that protection is purely the role of the parks agency.

The basic tension above, that has been experienced in the domain for at least thirty years, appears not to have been resolved by the introduction of sustainability as an overarching paradigm for this and other domains. Rather, the concept seems to have merely perpetuated differences between these interests, as it gets paraded and interpreted in a variety of ways. One participant, from Parks Canada, considers that although sustainable development is a concept that is very compatible with the dedication clause of national parks in Canada, it is being drawn into the protection/use debate, and that both sides are “either using it or abusing it” for their particular ends (Parks Canada interview 2). One Parks Canada informant believes that education needs to occur on both sides regarding sustainable tourism development in parks: “People get their shirt in a knot about issues like where is the privy going to be, rather than the fundamental issues such as what type of visitor experience do we want to offer?” (Parks Canada interview 5). One participant, an ecologist in Parks Canada is of the opinion that sustainable development is “useless”, and that the term has been used by groups such as AMPI (a “wise-use” movement in the western mountain parks) to pull or “middle the solution” with respect to tourism in parks (Parks Canada interview 1). Obviously this would impact on the ecological integrity of parks. There is a perception then that the use aspect of the preservation/use debate has been transmogrified into ‘sustainability’: this appears to have detracted from the value of the term as an organising concept for collaboration.

It appears that the SDS exercise, which provided perhaps the best opportunity in recent times for policy interplay and debate concerning the issue of sustainable tourism, has failed to live up to expectations, in terms of providing common ground for the two organisations to develop an open, collaborative policy exercise. One organisation (Parks Canada) is actively involved in implementing sustainable tourism on an operational basis, yet refuses to formally acknowledge that they *are* involved in sustainable tourism. And the other organisation (CTC) believes that it *is* contributing towards sustainable tourism but has demonstrated little capacity or policy or operational mechanisms to do so, to date: their claimed efforts are ‘hidden’ efforts.

11.2.12 Funding cuts and staff numbers

There are often significant internal costs of establishing, maintaining, and managing relationships. These transaction costs include the cost of obtaining information, bargaining costs, the costs of safeguarding against possible opportunistic behaviours by partners, and potentially, conflict resolution costs (Ebers and Grandori 1997). In an environment of generally shrinking budgets, these costs are potentially important determinants of relationships between federal organisations.

As noted in Chapter Eight, probably the most significant effect of federal government fiscal policy has been the associated drop in staff numbers in federal government organisations. For example, in Parks Canada, overall, staff numbers dropped from approximately 5000 down to 2700 FTE in 1997, over four years (Parks Canada interview 1). Accompanying staff reductions, there have been changes to the structure of Parks Canada in the regions. Regional Offices have been reduced/abolished, and replaced by regional “Service Centres” which provide policy and technical advice to “management Units” or groups of national parks and National Historic Sites. Similarly, there has been a substantial cut in staff numbers in Canada’s national tourism organisation. As described in a previous chapter, the creation of the CTC was accompanied by considerable staff loss from Tourism Canada. Hence, government policy to reduce spending at the federal level may have influenced both Parks Canada’s and the CTC’s ability to interact with other organisations in a number of ways. The most obvious of these is that there are reduced numbers of staff “on the ground” who would have a role in maintaining contact with other organisations: “The biggest difficulty in working with these other organisations is having the people and the time and the expertise, and that’s harder when we’re getting smaller” (Parks Canada interview 2). The changes to the physical structure of Parks Canada may also alter the “accessibility” of the organisation - simply by removing a regional office, for example, the requirement of having to make contact with the Ottawa office may indeed hinder this contact, or remove the incentive to establish and maintain contact with the organisation, because of time and financial constraints.

However, from another perspective, the reduced allocation of staff and reduced funding for Parks Canada, as described above may be having the effect of pushing it into partnerships “We’ve been reducing our staff and not increasing our staff - there’s a realisation that we need to network and be participants in a number of these regional exercises, regional tourism strategies... there has a whole lot of activity going on in every province all the time around every park - you could be going to a meeting every day of the week and not doing anything in the park” (Parks Canada interview 5). Some staff believe that resourcing is definitely an issue in terms of maintaining these relationships. Some parks have identified liaison as a significant part of several staff members’ responsibilities. In the west of Canada, Parks Canada has started to develop “ecosystem secretariats” in which there is usually one person who is actively involved in the regional activities that are going on and at least monitoring them to the extent that they can (Parks Canada interview 5).

11.2.13 Geographic disjunction

The restructuring of Parks Canada by removing the regional offices has also meant the loss of an “industry liaison person” at each of these offices. With the creation of 31 Field Units, one participant observed, “we’re not going to have 31 of them [liaison staff], and it may be at the end that we don’t have that liaison. On the other hand, because of the loss of these regional

offices that had quite a bit of autonomy, there may end up being a little more strength in headquarters to act on behalf of the 31 Field Units” (Parks Canada interview 2).

The fact that the CTC does not have regional offices may also influence the relationship. As one Parks Canada participant notes, “that kind of complicates it a bit” (Parks Canada interview 3). They note that Tourism Canada was also an exclusively National capital (Ottawa) function. The Department of Industry had regional representatives, but these reported to a different Assistant Deputy Minister in Ottawa. They describe this as a remarkably dysfunctional situation (Parks Canada interview 3). This geographic/structural dysfunction may have contributed to less developed relations with Parks Canada in the past.

11.2.14 The effect of constant restructuring

Although restructuring of federal departments has been seen to have some benefits for interorganisational relations, there are also demonstrated drawbacks. One of the consequences of government fiscal policy in terms of the downsizing of government departments, is that these departments have undergone structural changes - often on a reasonably regular basis, having a significant impact on staff morale and providing an unstable platform upon which to build relationships. The current relationship between Parks Canada and the CTC is described by participants from both organisations as ‘narrow’, and because the organisations have been going through so much change, it has been difficult for it to broaden or deepen.

The Department of Canadian Heritage is relatively new, formed in 1993, and has been going through annual or semi-annual major restructurings (Parks Canada interview 2). The establishment of the CTC also involved a significant change from the previous Tourism Canada arrangement. Associated with these restructurings has been a substantial turnover of staff, and changes to the location and role for a number of staff. The corollary to this is that the restructurings bring about changes in the way that the organisations present themselves or are viewed by other organisations. Staff involved at the interface with other organisations may only be there for a short term. Associated with this organisational change and turnover of staff, may be a loss of ‘institutional memory’ or body of corporate knowledge, that itself may hinder the maintenance of relationships. Relationships that have been established over a considerable period of time, with a fixed subset of personalities, may now rely on a new set of personalities and require re-establishing. As a CTC participant notes:

So with all the reorganisation that’s been going on around there and around here, its been difficult to sustain any kind of active partnership with Parks Canada per se. Particularly changes on their side, but also on our side. It’s been a part of the downsizing of government (CTC interview 5).

Conceivably, however, the loss of institutional memory could help facilitate relations, particularly in the case of Canada's parks agency and its NTO, where there has been some history of past conflict between the two organisations.

The impact of restructurings on staff attitude and performance because of staff having to face prolonged uncertainty may also have an impact on interorganisational relations. For example, the morale of staff in Parks Canada is reportedly low, with "cynicism from years of change" (Parks Canada 1997e:2). This may affect the motivation to act upon new organisational initiatives, such as developing new external relationships. Another factor that comes into play with organisations facing constant change is that priorities change, and organisations may become more inward looking. This is coupled with staff having to deal with a great deal of information concerning their organisation's future, and their personal future - the amount of time available for responding to external communication needs may be reduced or limited: "...part of it is the fact that we're an organisation in turmoil. There is a whole bunch of new documents out there that are our future, for example the new [Parks Canada] Agency" (Parks Canada interview 2).

Some Parks Canada staff consider, for example, that the departmental SDS has a low profile within the organisation, partly because of restructuring and agency proposals that have been occurring. A similar phenomenon occurred five years previously, when the Green Plan was being considered by the organisation at the same time that Parks Canada was facing the prospect of moving from within the Department of the Environment to a new Department of Canadian Heritage (Parks Canada interview 2). The Green Plan was released in 1992 at the time that Parks Canada was facing the prospect of moving from within the Department of the Environment to a new Department of Canadian Heritage. In a climate of uncertainty and change, the input to policy development is reduced. The organisation may have become more internally focused at the expense of external relations, and staff may assume more of a personal focus at the expense of an organisational focus.

11.2.15 Changing roles/mandates of organisations

But the difficulties associated with restructuring, at least for interorganisational relations, goes beyond personalities: often the actual mandates of federal organisations have also changed, or if not the mandates, the organisational priorities:

In the 80s and 90s there was a tremendous pressure on downsizing of government, almost a constant pressure, and that's led to a lot of turning turning over of mandates, changing of focus and cutting back of organisations, which frankly has made it very difficult to sustain research activities and research relationships, because of their more long range focus...stable contexts and mandates to work from [are important], and that their [organisations]

priorities are stable enough that you can identify things that you can work on together, that you can partner. Those are prerequisites for joint action (CTC interview 5).

The relationships between Parks Canada and the CTC are described as narrow, and because the organisations have been going through so much change, its been difficult for them to broaden or deepen beyond that (CTC interview 5). For example, the change in the mandate of the national tourism organisation with the creation of the CTC led to a loss of policy role, or the 'policy shop'. This was one area where a relationship existed between Parks Canada and Tourism Canada, a relationship that was not always co-operative, as policy goals were not sympatric, but interchange of comments on each other's policies was common.

Even though the predominant reason they [Tourism Canada] existed was to run Canada's external marketing programme, they also had a responsibility for generation of tourism statistics, and the interpretation and putting out of analytical studies. They had a policy role dealing with essentially protection of the industry from other departments. My role when I was there was to essentially liase with parks and Environment [Canada] and make certain that tourism was factored in when they developed policies. And there was a fellow whose specialisation was transport...we had another person whose job was primarily dealing with fiscal instruments...well that no longer exists at all (Associate interview 1).

Some of the previous policy roles of Tourism Canada as a federal organisation, are now being taken up by provincial/territorial governments and industry organisations, in what could be viewed as a conscious but unstated policy of devolution. For example, the Saskatchewan Tourism Association are developing a code of practice and accreditation for operators, and Nova Scotia have a foundation to help fund conservation through ecotourism (Associate interview 2). "I would say that sustainable tourism development in Canada will happen provincially...this is happening in conjunction with the national [federal] government displacing a lot of things down onto the provinces" (Associate interview 2), "There is no interest at the federal level" (Associate interview 1).

Although the loss of a policy role in the CTC could be interpreted as a potentially positive step in reducing or eliminating overt policy "warfare" with Parks Canada, one potential channel for developing a co-operative relationship with some integrated policy development, has now been removed.

11.3 Micro or interpretive factors

Micro factors are those that are in the main, within the control of either of the two individual organisations. But as discussed above, often there may be links with wider social, political or environmental influences that give some 'macro' characteristics to these facilitating or inhibiting factors.

11.3.1 Power and access to CTC decision making

In terms of the interorganisational relationship, one 'scarce resource' that Parks Canada can bring to the relationship with tourism interests, is the power to control the level of tourism at its parks and sites. Canada's national parks and national historic sites are acknowledged by both Parks Canada, and by the tourism sector, including the CTC, to be major draw cards for international tourists, and also highly significant for domestic tourism (Parks Canada 1994; CTC 1997). This resource dependence on the part of the tourism industry, at least in theory, places the parks organisation in a good position with respect to its relationship with industry members such as the CTC:

We are in a position to go back to CTC and say that we represent a good chunk of the reason why people come to Canada. They don't come to stay in hotels, they come to see things, to do things. So by having us as a partner with the CTC, you're getting an awful lot from us, and we'd like to see some tangible appreciation of that in the kind of deals that we can work with the CTC. We've taken that kind of tack with CTC and I think that they respect that... (Parks Canada interview 7).

Through development of policy and individual park management plans, Parks Canada effectively decides the level and nature of tourism within the sites it manages. The weakness to this resource dependence argument is that historically, decisions on tourism use for many sites have been ultimately made on political grounds by decision makers outside of Parks Canada, rather than being based on Parks Canada legislation, policy, plans or in terms of maintaining ecological integrity (e.g. BBVTF 1996). So in fact, in the past, and up until recent times, a situation of resource scarcity has *not* existed.

However, regardless of the extent of this resource (of authority or access), and although the CTC recognises that Parks Canada operates the largest chain of attractions in Canada and are seen as member of their body of stakeholders Canada (Parks Canada interview 3), it appears that full incorporation into national tourism decision making structures has not been achieved. This scenario has been discussed above in the context of funding – Parks Canada not being able to 'pay the membership fee' of the CTC 'club'. But here, stakeholder legitimacy is discussed in terms of attitude.

While Parks Canada may be recognised as a legitimate stakeholder by the CTC and consulted on occasion, their degree of incorporation into decision-making structures is debatable. The Department of Canadian Heritage (parent department of Parks Canada) has representatives on various CTC programme committees i.e. the Canadian Domestic Marketing Committee, the Research Committee, and the Industry and Product Development Committee. It also receives information from the other committees, but is

not active on them. Of the 26 people on the CTC Board, only one (apart from the CTC President) is a federal representative, that being the Deputy Minister of Industry Canada, the CTC's "home" department. The Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Canadian Heritage, Tom Lee, has consistently shown an interest in going on the Board: "[he] would like to see a more senior level strategic relationship with the CTC.... Parks Canada has frequently, on more than one occasion shown an interest on being on that Board, but that is not to be" (Parks Canada interview 3). In the interests of establishing a partnership between CTC and Parks Canada, Lee offered his services to the Board, shortly after it was formed in 1995. Doug Fyfe (Chief Executive of CTC) replied that "At this stage, partner sub-committees rather than board meetings are the vehicle to establish partnerships" (Industry Canada 1995 letter from Fyfe to Lee). Further attempts to join the CTC Board have not been successful. "[Tom Lee] is still thinking, 'Right, I can't sit on the Board, how can we do this?'" (Parks Canada interview 3).

11.3.2 Changing values

Although it has been argued above that Parks Canada's attitude towards tourism, and therefore, tourism interests, has changed as a result of wider federal macroeconomic policy, there has also been evidence of changing organisational values that have been internally driven. For example, when Parks Canada was within Environment Canada, that organisation provided the environment for the development of a more cautious attitude towards tourism within the organisation.

Parks Canada has swung back and forth with respect to its policy position on tourism - when it moved in to Environment [Canada] - you know it has a dialectical mandate, preservation and use, they put much more emphasis on the preservation side of the mandate. In that period of time, some perceived tourism as much more of a threat to the system, and their relationships were more adversarial in that period. More recently when they became part of the Department of Canadian Heritage, they've been trying to develop more effective partnerships at the operational level and in some policy areas (CTC interview 5).

Recently, in addition to efforts on the CTC front, there is certainly evidence to suggest that Parks Canada and the tourism industry are working together. One participant (Parks Canada interview 4) cites examples of where Parks Canada has developed visitor centres in co-operation with the tourism industry, or where Parks Canada has provided technical advice in the training of guides employed by private companies.

Distinct periods in the evolution of Canadian national park policy have been identified by researchers such as Rounthwaite (1982) and Dearden (1995). Rounthwaite notes that the swing from a park policy based on economic incentives to programmes based on preservationist values has resulted in a continual struggle between these competing interests

(Rounthwaite 1982:53). Dearden talks of external interests affecting parks policy through a process of “administrative penetration” (Dearden 1995:194) (see Chapter Two). This struggle of competing values is also recognised by staff within the parks organisation:

Some people feel that we have gone from a very strong emphasis on the protection and preservation mandate which is clearly articulated in our policy and legislation, to a more lenient and open approach to encouraging tourism and encouraging tourism type activities, and marketing (Parks Canada interview 5).

There is, however, now a perception among some staff that with the results of the Banff Bow Valley studies, and the pronouncement on capping development at the Banff township, that ecological integrity within parks is now on the ascendance: “There have been several pendulum swings over the last few years” (Parks Canada interview 5). The Banff Bow Valley Study is described as a seminal study that is launching a new view in terms of visitation for Parks Canada: the study shows that there are clear indications that there are limitations on how many people can go into certain areas (Parks Canada interview 4). Interestingly, this pendulum swing could be described as a return to the old organisational norm, or an affirmation that what Parks Canada was doing was ‘right’. This development, however, may be slightly at odds with what Parks Canada management would like to see become the new organisational norm/culture; that ‘marketing parks is good’. Furthermore, such a policy stance does not necessarily support Parks Canada’s requirement for increased revenue earning. If there is internal conflict over these issues, how is it resolved?

It seems that the old dual mandate dilemma of use versus preservation, which had largely been addressed by legislative and policy refinements, has been superseded somewhat by a new duality of revenue versus preservation.

11.3.3 Interaction with tourism interests to protect parks?

Parks Canada’s new commitment to a relationship with tourism interests may be interpreted in more ways than one: it should not simply be inferred that Parks Canada is taking a mercenary attitude towards its parks. The history of parks management in Canada, as we have seen, is one of parks managers continually having to deal with the pressures for commercial development from tourism interests. This is unlikely to change, especially with the sharpened focus on the performance of the Canadian tourism industry, by the Chretien Liberal government, evidenced by actions such as the creation of the CTC, and increased funding for national tourism promotion. To form closer relations with the tourism industry may help contribute to Parks Canada’s wellbeing in times of funding uncertainty, but could also be interpreted as being part of a defensive action too. As one parks participant (Parks Canada interview 5) describes, “there are a lot of other players that are doing things to us”. To not be

a 'victim', it appears that Parks Canada has decided to become a more dynamic member of this domain.

Parks Canada has taken a very conscious decision to be a very active player in tourism decisions, rather than head in the sand - we have to take an active role in determining how parks and sites will be used...we all know what part of your anatomy is exposed when you have your head in the sand! (Parks Canada interview 6).

For example, one of the new drives from the CTC has been the quest to address Canada's inherent tourism seasonality. Some Parks Canada staff are concerned about the potential consequences of extending visitation in parks because of the impacts to wildlife habits: "We clearly have to be part of the process of making clear that just because someone isn't sleeping in a bed gives you the opportunity of just filling the bed in question" (Parks Canada interview 4).

Part of the role of the Department of Canadian Heritage's Heritage Tourism Secretariat (HTS) is to represent such concerns to the tourism industry. The Executive Director of the HTS sits on the CTC's Product Development Committee: "Having a seat at that table is an influential place to be in the development of new programmes and ensuring that heritage experiences are supported, advocated and respected in the course of these programmes" (Parks Canada interview 3). This role is appreciated by some other Parks Canada interviewees: "I know that Margaret [Archibald, the Executive Director of the HTS] is working hard on a number of fronts to influence the way that parks are represented... we just wanted to make sure that we were well placed and well represented in the whole spectrum of our responsibilities, not just the opportunity to make money by tourism, but to put forward what we stand for and the limits of tourism within our sites" (Parks Canada interview 4). The HTS has been one mechanism for doing this. Staff have commented that there have been occasions when some of the CTC published material has not been what Parks Canada would prefer, in terms of how parks are presented, but now Parks Canada is in the position to get the kind of access to CTC which will allow them to influence editorial coverage (Parks Canada interview 7). Hence, by fostering the relationship with tourism interests such as the CTC, Parks Canada can now have some input into the industry developing a more responsible marketing approach towards national parks.

11.3.4 The relationship between funding & permeability of organisational boundaries

The simple act of maintaining relations with other organisations is not easy: numerous factors may emerge as inhibitors to relationships (see Chapter Three). One consequence of downsizing, with reductions in staff numbers and changes to the structure of organisations, is that the act of maintaining relationships with other organisations no longer remains an organisational priority. Despite policy rhetoric to the contrary (e.g. CTC 1995; Parks Canada

1997e), organisational boundaries become less permeable. This however does not appear to be the case with Parks Canada, who appear to be making a new initiative to develop and foster relations with external organisations through the establishment of the new External Relations Branch. In this case, it appears that the heightened need to be able to raise an increasing proportion of its budget from revenues has caused Parks Canada to ask questions about the importance and types of relationships it forms with certain other organisations.

The External Relations Branch was formed in 1997 and at the time of study comprised seven staff members across Canada to co-ordinate the way that Parks Canada deals with external clients - users, stakeholders, Canadians at large, corporate Canada and others. Some of these staff members have specific experience in dealing with the tourism industry and have previously been employed within the industry. The Branch is described as “a significant change - a formalisation of attempts to maintain and develop relationships” (Parks Canada interview 8). And in times of overall staff reductions, the creation of this branch must indeed be seen as extraordinary: “These days we’re into cutting off our branches - not putting new ones out...” (Parks Canada interview 2). The External Relations Branch works to the Parks Canada Corporate Image and External Relations Strategy, which was produced in 1997. Stemming from that, created in 1997 was a marketing strategy, a subdocument of the above Corporate Image and External Relations Strategy.⁸⁸

The Corporate Image and External Relations Strategy addresses a number of corporate image and relations issues. There is a strong emphasis on strategic positioning and profiling for Parks Canada and its products, greater cohesion and Parks Canada’s marketing and external relations practices across the system, and greater internal co-operation and cross-marketing among field units and regions. It also identifies the need for improved co-operation with outside interests (Parks Canada 1997e).

This emphasis on marketing, is not something which is lost on some Parks Canada staff: “The external relations branch that we have now, and the Heritage Tourism Secretariat, are just new incarnations of previous efforts in marketing and tourism. We used to have a marketing branch, that was dismantled due to a variety of reasons” (Parks Canada interview 5). The marketing branch ran for a period of at least three years, and was dismantled about 1992 (Parks Canada interview 5). One participant’s comments suggest that a combination of changing organisational priorities (especially with the shift from Environment Canada to the Department of Canadian Heritage) plus lack of support from parks staff led to the marketing branch’s demise.

⁸⁸ At the time of this study, the marketing Strategy was still an internal document and not available to the writer.

There was a marketing initiative probably 6-8 years ago in Parks Canada. It was run nationally. It did not last very long and I gather that it left a bad taste in many people's mouths...When I came into Parks Canada two or three years ago, that bad taste was very much there, it was a matter of building credibility...Its only been since last spring since the external relations branch was created that we have had another attempt at some kind of nationally led marketing (Parks Canada interview 7).

The current Marketing Strategy contains a number of elements. It involves maintaining the current level of activity whilst developing a nation-wide strategic pricing system, collecting data on current dealings with tour operators, and developing trend information on these activities. Having accomplished that, then Parks Canada will "in fact start to increase our level of activity against the travel trade... get into one-on-one meetings with operators... develop new materials for the travel trade, familiarisation tours for the travel trade" (Parks Canada interview 7). Interestingly, these activities are not always seen to be directly linked with Parks Canada's new revenue targets: "my observation would be that these tend to be separate issues" (Parks Canada interview 7). Similarly, it is interesting that among Parks Canada staff there is, perhaps because of the organisational culture, a general lack of willingness to talk openly of marketing, increasing tourism to parks and of the link between marketing and revenue earning.

The discussion above indicates a desire on the part of Parks Canada to increase the permeability of its organisational boundaries. This is evidenced by the creation of the External Relations Branch, and further by the contents of the Corporate Image and External Relations Management Strategy (Parks Canada 1997e). These changes are at odds with Parks Canada's history, that is, as an organisation that has been largely 'stand alone'. Indeed, this historical reality informs the popular conception of Parks Canada, by its own staff, by staff from CTC and previously Tourism Canada, and by staff from the ENGOs. And despite new initiatives, they are still thought of in this way. For example, a senior employee of the Canadian Nature Federation describes Parks Canada as "insular" (ENGO interview 2). Parks staff acknowledge this almost isolationist stance: "Parks attitude in the past I think has been... to generalise... 'we're here, you can come'" (Parks Canada interview 7).

This change in approach to external organisations is reflected, for example, in the way that Parks Canada was involved to only a minimal extent in development of the Tourism Industry Association of Canada's "Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism" in the early 1990s. Most Parks Canada staff interviewed were not aware of the Guidelines or only vaguely aware of their existence:

We received the documents and were asked to comment...I don't think we were as actively involved as we would be now - part of the philosophy then was that

Parks did not do tourism, and if tourism wanted to do it [the guidelines for ST] then that's fine (Parks Canada interview 6).

But recent changes described above, have meant that Parks Canada "...have [sic] started to look a lot more externally" (Parks Canada interview 5). A Parks Canada employee with the External Relations branch, explains this in terms of a shift from a "product" orientation to a "product-client" relation (Parks Canada interview 8).

11.3.5 Attempts to change organisational norms

The above organisational changes may be embraced by Parks Canada staff or alternately, attempts to foster closer relations with the tourism sector may be hobbled by an organisational culture that has had a history of spurning the advances of tourism. Like any large organisation, with a range of staff from different backgrounds and with different goals, there is evidence of a range of attitudes towards tourism: "I think that Parks Canada has always had a dynamic tension between the protectors and the users" (Parks Canada interview 2).⁸⁹ What effect has this tension had on Parks Canada's ability to develop and maintain relations with tourism (user) interests? A discussion of staff attitudes to tourism is critical to the analysis of external relations, for in Parks Canada, an acceptance of the need for enhanced external relations with tourism interests is essentially an acceptance of the need for increased tourism in parks, which for staff may entail a considerable shift in attitude.

While it is clear that macro factors influence organisational directions, it is pertinent to consider if these factors have the same influence upon the individuals working within these organisations - particularly those key personnel responsible for establishing and maintaining relationships with external organisations, or involved in policy and planning activities that impact upon these other organisations. Some staff are sceptical about the new partnership approach of the organisation, and question the scope and reach of the national initiatives in this area:

I think these have been somewhat effective at the national level, I would be sceptical to the degree to which this has percolated down through the system very much (Parks Canada interview 2).

It would seem that senior management of Parks Canada are also of this view. In October 1997 the Parks Canada Executive Board directed that the External Relations Branch establish a "set of activities to orient staff to the organisation's direction for external relations and the enhancement of a client-oriented culture" (Parks Canada 1997e:1). A situational analysis

⁸⁹ In Parks Canada internal files, there is historic evidence of this tension. For example an internal memo (14/3/77) from the Chief of the Interpretation and Extension Division to the Director parks Branch bemoans the failure of Parks Canada to set capacity limits: "...we are blithely going on, doing the same thing ...for every park" (Parks Canada 1977).

refers to the low morale of staff from years of continuous change, a lack of understanding by staff of the organisation's mission and values, and states that external relations is not recognised and understood as a critical activity which supports achieving the Parks Canada mandate (Parks Canada 1997e). Consequent (internal) communications objectives include *instilling* a client-oriented (marketing) culture within Parks Canada: "Specifically, external relations internal communications should promote an understanding, acceptance and commitment to learn and use marketing techniques in our day to day activities" (Parks Canada 1997e:2).

This "lack of understanding of the organisation's mission and values" (Parks Canada 1997e) is reflected in comments by Parks Canada staff such as "Certainly our ADM [Assistant Deputy Minister] advocates that we are in the tourism business, but from a policy and legislation perspective, we're not - that's not our business" (Parks Canada interview 5). However, whether this is a "lack of understanding" or rather a strict interpretation of parks policy and legislation is debatable. With respect to adventure tourism, which is making inroads to many of the northern parks, there are indications that there is a lack of agreement among staff on the role of adventure tourism there: "It's not something that Parks Canada is entirely comfortable with. Some folks [in Parks Canada] say that's what we should be marketing, some say that it's a long way from the message we are trying to give" (Parks Canada interview 2). This is confirmed by a member of Parks Canada's External Relations Branch: "I think there's a real fear of marketing, tourism, tinkering with visitation, and there are certain people, who look at things from the viewpoint of ecological integrity and feel that certain areas have been ruined. By the same token there are others who feel in fact that we are capable of handling further visitation" (Parks Canada interview 7).

One thing is for certain, and that is that there is a perception amongst the tourism industry that Parks Canada staff are anti tourism. This was a perception picked up by Judd Buchanan (Prime Minister's Special Advisor on tourism, in 1994-95, and now Chair of the CTC) on his Prime Ministerial-sponsored mission of 1994 when he toured Canada talking to tourism industry people. Buchanan, upon pointing out this perceived resistance to tourism at a meeting with senior Parks Canada staff in Alberta, was reassured that action was being taken to ensure that staff understand Parks Canada's role in tourism, and that various tourism initiatives in Parks Canada, along with the introduction of the 1995 Business Plan would assist in changing staff attitudes (Parks Canada 1994a).

There is evidence that among certain groups within Parks Canada, as noted above, of a degree of support for increased tourism in the parks. As one Parks Canada ecologist notes, at park superintendents meetings, as a measure of success, the question asked will be "how many

visitors did you have”, a reflection of the business or revenue earning side of the job. One does not ask ecological questions such as “how many species did you lose?”: to ask such questions, would be like “farting in a cocktail party” (Parks Canada interview 1).

In the past, decisions over the level of visitor services in the parks were left to the discretion of individual park superintendents (Rounthwaite 1982). The culture of park superintendents obtaining prestige from the number of visitors that they have in their parks is an interesting phenomenon worthy of further research. What is apparent now, though is that there are superintendents open to the concept of closer relations with tourism interests. A parks informant (Parks Canada interview 1) describes how a “wise use” movement called AMPI (Association for Mountain Parks Improvement) has emerged in the west of Canada, comprising business improvement groups in Banff. This group was critical of the Banff Bow Valley study, citing ‘bad science’, and have put a proposal for expansion of tourism development in Banff. The person that is being employed by AMPI, working as a paid lobbyist, is an ex-superintendent of Banff (Parks Canada interview 1). This involvement is indicative of the range of values held by staff in Parks Canada.

From the above discussion, whilst it is apparent that there is some diversity of opinion regarding the role of tourism in national parks amongst Parks Canada staff, there is currently an overt attempt by Parks Canada senior management to change the organisational culture, to one more aware and accepting of the role of tourism within national parks. According to a senior member of External Relations Group (Parks Canada interview 8), this increasing orientation to tourism within the Parks Canada organisation is already happening.

In contrast to Parks Canada, where there appears to be a diversity of staff opinion regarding the role of tourism in national parks, the impression gained from speaking with CTC staff was one of complete harmony or consistency of opinion on this issue: ‘Yes, tourism and parks are great for each other’. As touched upon above, the diversity of opinion among parks staff may be linked to the diversity of the staff themselves, in terms of their backgrounds and individual roles within the organisation. Does this have implications for the relationship with tourism interests?

11.3.6 Staff professional background/skills in the parks organisation

Parks Canada is a very large organisation, with about 2700 Full Time Equivalent staff at the time of study. Although relationships with specific tourism organisations like the CTC and Tourism Industry Association of Canada involve only a minimal number of staff, and most of these will be within the External Relations Division, or at senior executive level, the day to day contact with regional and local tourism interests are undertaken by a great many more

staff at a variety of levels, and with a diversity of backgrounds and skills. The staffing structure of Parks Canada and staff professional background are two further factors potentially impacting relations with tourism interests.

One criticism of the parks agency made by the ENGOs in the 1980s was that there was a lack of ecological knowledge in the department at the higher decision-making levels; the suggestion being that there was a lack of awareness and lack of concern among that group of the implications of their actions with respect to tourism development in parks. In response to this accusation, one Parks Canada interviewee replied:

That's also true. Parks Canada, like all Canadian Federal Departments has adopted the model of the 'generic manager', from the Harvard Business School. Parks Canada is dominated by ecologists, botanists and the like at the working level...but the Canadian Government has pursued the Hay system in its management, its a system that Harvard invented back in the late 60s, but they've since repudiated it, but we're still using it. Managers are generic, so the managers of most government departments have no training in the field which they are managing. So the person who might have been the logical director over at Parks Canada is running a language school somewhere, and the person who is sitting there dealing with the ecological integrity issue, probably has a degree in Latin, if you're lucky. The break is about the division chief level or in some cases the director level. Everyone above that tends to be a generic manager, who if you're lucky has had some contact with planning or resources or parks in the past. Below that most of the staff are strong advocates for the specific discipline that they from... many are impassioned and very capable. There has always been a schism between the management direction and the working level. The same thing is true in Environment Canada and several other of the scientific departments. They are advocates of science up to a certain level and then you have an almost disassociated management above that... almost all of the scientists in the department feel that they are talking to a brick wall (Associate interview 1).

Another participant, an ecologist with Parks Canada agrees, saying that "Parks Canada will never be a science based department... science doesn't make it to the business table" (Parks Canada interview 1). They contrast the Canadian organisation with the United States National Park Service, which they believe to be more science based, with more researchers. As evidence of this disregard for science in the organisation, an informant notes that there are only eleven PhDs in Parks Canada, and that the scientist at Banff is paid "on the J2 level - equivalent to a test tube washer" (Parks Canada interview 1).

As well as, or because of this 'values' gap (which also appears to be an 'expertise gap' (Parks Canada 1997)), some interviewees note a communication problem between groups within Parks Canada. It was noted that there is a generally negative attitude to management amongst those employees with a science background. This was a phenomenon not confined to Parks Canada but also found in other federal resource management agencies, where the attitude was

described as ““Why bother, they’re not going to listen to us”” (Associate interview 2). Both of these factors have implications for integrated planning:

It also means that the people setting the policy, there are some who have the idea that it would be very good to do more integrated planning, but because of that schism I think that they’re not necessarily able to mobilise the physical scientists to go along with them... (Associate interview 1).

The different emphasis that staff within the parks organisation place upon the preservation/use dichotomy is not merely an expression of personal opinion, however: it is informed, in the case of the science-based staff, from their expertise and knowledge in the field. This value/knowledge gap, between senior management and other segments of Parks Canada staff, particularly those with ecological or other science backgrounds is potentially working as an internal institutional barrier to a closer working relationship with the tourism sector.

11.3.7 Differing professional backgrounds between organisations

The professional background of employees may act internally and externally to either facilitate or inhibit relationships with other organisations. Externally, this factor may operate through influencing employees’ attitudes towards other professional groups; for example there may be a history of professional rivalry or dispute between groups with consequences for relations between their employing organisations. Another way that different professional groups influence relations is through possession of specialised knowledge and skills, which may hinder communication and understanding between groups, and consequently, organisations (Theuns 1989 in de Kadt 1990).

There appears to be a recognition of the problems associated with having different professional groups at the interface of relations between Parks Canada and the CTC: “It requires different people with different expertise to interface with each of these groups - someone with a biology background is not necessarily going to be a good person to deal with the tourism people” (Parks Canada interview 5). It should be considered, however, that whoever interfaces with the tourism people should have some knowledge of the ecological values that are at stake when tourism development/expansion is under discussion.

One participant (Associate interview 1) (with experience in both organisations) talks of how there were problems between Tourism Canada and Parks Canada some years ago, and apart from the different mandates and organisational cultures, notes that the fact that staff from the two organisations didn’t have the same disciplines in common “meant that they couldn’t even talk to each other as they weren’t using the same jargon”.

You had essentially people who were predominantly biologists and environmental planners and who saw their job as protection of those landscapes. At Tourism Canada, you had a number of marketing specialists who saw their job as bringing the most people into Canada as possible and the parks as being the principle draws and therefore have totally disparate objectives - one was to keep as many people out as possible and the other was to pack as many in as possible (Associate interview 1).

Another participant was previously employed by Parks Canada, and when he moved to Tourism Canada noted that amongst the staff there was a lack of understanding on the part of the Tourism Canada staff concerning the mandate or operational realities of a park system (CTC interview 5). Similarly, a member of the Natural Activities Branch of Parks Canada talks of going to a Tourism Industry Association of Canada conference, and finding it too business and industry oriented (Parks Canada interview 5).

Although Parks Canada had some years ago disestablished its previous marketing group, located within the former Socio-Economic Division (SED), some of this marketing expertise has survived in the regions. This has been a factor in developing the relationship between Parks Canada and the CTC, having some people with similar expertise or backgrounds working in the two organisations (Parks Canada interview 3).⁹⁰ Some staff in the two organisations also have a professional overlap, in their membership of professional bodies. There are a number of Parks Canada and CTC staff members who belong to the Canadian chapter of the Travel and Tourism Research Association (TTRA), thus creating a sub-community of interest. Membership of the TTRA allows staff of the two organisations to interact, particularly in the area of research, allowing them, for example, at least to learn about what research the other organisation is undertaking (Parks Canada interview 5).

11.3.8 Influence of the historic relationship between the parks agency and the NTO

Theoreticians of interorganisational relations (refer Chapter Four) point to the need to contextualise current relations through an examination of the historic interactions between organisations (e.g. Benson 1982; Whetten 1982). Whilst the historic relationship between the Canada's parks agency and its NTO has been covered in a previous chapter, it is valuable to ascertain the perceptions of current staff of the organisations' historic relationship, and of the impact of this history on the current relationship.

In particular, the history of the Tourism Canada - Parks Canada relationship is important to the discussion of the current relationship. This is because the CTC was largely formed from Tourism Canada, with staff from Tourism Canada initially being transferred to the CTC. A restructuring followed, in 1995-96 when a number of staff were shed (CTC 1996a).

Current staff recognise that there is a history to the present relationship: “History has certainly played a role” (Parks Canada interview 6). Indications are that the previous relationship was not co-operative: “The climate of distrust and negative reactions to Tourism Canada in the regions was palpable when I got here and when the new CTC was created” (Parks Canada interview 3). Similarly, a CTC participant (CTC interview 5) refers to a distrust and lack of understanding by Tourism Canada staff of Parks Canada.

One Parks Canada informant (Parks Canada interview 8) believes that the relationship has improved compared to the previous one with Tourism Canada. He attributes this to changes in both organisations. Parks Canada has been “in the closet and out of the closet” regarding tourism. When Parks Canada was in the Department of the Environment, its tourism focus was in more of a regulatory way rather than a promotional way. It was tarred as favouring protection, and even though this may not necessarily have been the case, this was the perception. A CTC informant, who was in Tourism Canada at the time, confirms that there was a perceived “shift in emphasis” by Parks Canada, towards preservation, which led to a structural tension between the two organisations (CTC interview 5). One participant talks of the time that he was employed by Tourism Canada, when they tried to have discussions with Parks Canada with regard to developing a general policy with respect to peripheral tourism around national parks. Tourism Canada could not find anybody who was interested (Associate interview 1). Significantly, a proposed memorandum of understanding, that would have dealt with issues such as park and peripheral tourism development, and ongoing co-operation between the two organisations, was not forthcoming - attributable to the tension reigning over this period (CTC interview 5).

One CTC participant, however, does not agree that there was a difficult relationship between the two organisations. He was employed by Tourism Canada from 1981: “The only incident I ever remember where we took them [Parks Canada] to task, where we had a specific issue with Parks was about 3-4 years ago when they implemented new entrance fees to the parks without giving adequate notice to the international tour operators or the local tour operators...that caused us a lot of concerns, and if there was ever an issue that was controversial, I guess that was it” (CTC interview 4). He admits though that he remembers working for Parks Canada when the CGOT (predecessor of Tourism Canada) was promoting certain national parks in the peak season and asking himself “why on earth are they doing that, when we are having problems with erosion of trails...turning the town site of Banff into a

⁹⁰ The 1980s marketing initiatives continued in some regions, for example Atlantic Canada and Quebec. This was because these regions were more dependent on the long haul market for their clients, whereas the western region had more local clients, and was not so successful in retaining this activity (Parks Canada interview 8).

small city” (CTC interview 4).⁹¹ At the time, the argument was often made that Parks Canada should be telling the tourism organisation when to promote, how to promote and what to promote, rather than the tourism organisation going ahead and “willy nilly promoting the parks” (CTC interview 4).

Over the last 10-15 years, however, there has been a “very high degree of co-operation”, with Parks Canada and the national tourism organisation working together, and addressing issues such as seasonality and overcapacity in some parks (CTC interview 4). Certainly there is evidence to suggest (as discussed in Chapter Ten) that at least at some level, a working relationship must have existed. Furthermore, an interchange of staff between the two organisations in the late 1980s was noted by one participant (Parks Canada interview 7).

Parks Canada staff also believe that there is a climate of trust that was not there before. This is because Parks Canada is more willing to talk to the tourism industry and about tourism than it had been in the past (Parks Canada interview 3). So, although relationships were “adversarial” in the past, they have improved, because of Parks Canada’s efforts to develop more effective partnerships (CTC interview 5).

11.3.9 Bridging organisation

The role of a bridging organisation is often useful in bridging the gap between the organisations and acting as an intermediary whereby direct conflict of values does not occur (Gray 1985). This section examines the role, as perceived by staff, of the Heritage Tourism Secretariat (HTS) as a bridging organisation between the two organisations.

Prior to the formation of the HTS, contact with the tourism industry was in “drips and drabs”; for example, Canadian Pacific Hotels were being contacted by 15-20 members of Parks Canada (Parks Canada interview 4). From the time of its formation, and up until 1997, the HTS was the main point of contact between Parks Canada and the CTC. As noted above, the Department of Canadian Heritage is represented on various programme committees of the CTC. From 1997, although this representation of the DCH by the HTS continued, the formation of the External Relations Branch of Parks Canada opened up another avenue of communication between Parks Canada and the CTC.

The HTS’ role as a bridging organisation has been significant, particularly for Parks Canada.

⁹¹ Two of the CTC interviewees had previously worked for Parks Canada, and one of the Parks Canada interviewees had previously worked for Tourism Canada (see Appendix I).

It is also important that the Heritage Tourism Programme involves the whole Department [Department of Canadian Heritage] rather than just Parks Canada. We would have been mired in the us vs. them, use vs. protection, development vs. close the parks, old confrontational issues. It meant that Parks Canada didn't have to have a marketing programme, and that it could take part in the much softer, more acceptable, more sustainable activity called Heritage Tourism (Parks Canada interview 3).

Involvement with the HTS has been described as a "bold step for Parks Canada" (Parks Canada interview 7). However, staff from the CTC don't rate the formation of the HTS as being that significant in terms of the improved relations being observed between Parks Canada and the CTC (CTC interview 4). This participant sees the HTS representation on the CTC committees more from a business perspective: "...who is the right person who can make something happen that we want to happen?" (CTC interview 4). Yet it is apparent from this question that through the HTS' involvement, positive outcomes are being observed by the CTC.

The role of the HTS is seen to be highly significant for the relationship, particularly in the absence of more formal mechanisms for inter-departmental co-ordination. Doerr (1981) outlines the role for example, of interdepartmental task forces, committees and other similar structures for policy co-ordination in the Canadian federal context. As discussed in Chapter Six, through the above mechanisms, interdepartmentalism has been a feature of the federal government, especially in the 1980s. However, interdepartmentalism has also been a victim of political and economic forces (Kernaghan and Siegel 1992). At the time of study, traditional interdepartmental mechanisms for co-ordination in the national parks – tourism domain were minimal – hence the significance of the 'co-ordinating' role of the HTS.

11.3.10 Recognising the value of co-operation /positive perception/mutual respect

One of the key facilitating factors in interorganisational relations is said to be a positive perception of the value of co-operation (e.g Whetten 1981). Among key staff involved in the Parks Canada – CTC relationship, the value of co-operation is perceived to be very high. For example, one CTC staff member interviewed, described the relationship as "a great success story" (CTC interview 1). Note, that although there was a high degree of corroboration among CTC staff of success of the relationship between Parks Canada and CTC, this contrasted with Parks Canada interviewees, many of whom were either unaware of the extent of the relationship, were cynical about the relationship, or characterised it as a developing relationship.

However, that key staff involved in developing and maintaining relations, within both organisations recognise the value of co-operation is evidenced by many of their comments. For example, one Parks Canada participant comments that the relationship is good between the

organisations because Parks Canada is more willing to talk to the tourism industry and about tourism than it had in the past, and because the CTC recognises that Parks Canada operates the largest chain of attractions in Canada (Parks Canada interview 3). This recognition of the value of parks as tourism products is reflected in comments made by CTC interviewees: “[national parks] are part of the key attractions of Canada, our product strengths are natural settings, attractions, are part of our key assets” (CTC interview 5).

From the perspective of the CTC, Parks Canada can assist in their marketing of Canada by primarily being willing partners in offering national parks as marketable attractions. In what is perhaps a secondary role, they can also provide limited resources in terms of monetary contributions to marketing programmes, information and assistance in the development of promotional copy:

We feel that the CTC and Parks Canada should be working very closely together, because it's a national product, and it's a product that we want to provide more information to the Canadian consumer on. ...we would like to be able to work more closely together with them so that they are part of the vehicles we are using for advertising and promotional activities wherever appropriate (CTC interview 1).

And from the perspective of Parks Canada, the CTC is an organisation with substantial marketing experience and reach, thereby providing access to a level of marketing that would be unobtainable for Parks Canada as a stand-alone organisation: “We have recognised that the marketing that we would have to do...most of it would have to be in conjunction with the CTC...we're convinced that our best bet is to market in conjunction with CTC” (Parks Canada interview 7).

That both partners in the relationship will potentially benefit is recognised: “It's a growing relationship, based upon mutual need. I'm quite sure that CTC is very pleased to see us coming to the table, because we do represent dollars, but we are a very credible partner, we are national...” (Parks Canada interview 7). This interdependence is also seen by at least one interviewee to extend to the tourism industry as a whole: most tourism operators would see the parks staff and parks organisation as one on which they are quite interdependent (CTC interview 4).

Thus, there is evidence to suggest that overall, there is little resistance to the notion of co-operation – it is just the extent and nature of the co-operative relationship that is perceived differently between the organisations.

11.3.11 Leadership

The leaders of both Parks Canada and of the CTC have both been instrumental in shaping their individual organisations, which has had consequences for the nature of the relationship

between the organisations. A key figure in the relationship between Parks Canada and the CTC has been Tom Lee, the Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM) (Parks) in the Department of Canadian Heritage. Lee, who has a career based in provincial parks management, has been noted by several Parks Canada staff as being very strong on the role of Parks Canada in tourism (e.g. Parks Canada interview 3; Parks Canada interview 6; Parks Canada interview 5). Some staff, however disagree with Lee's stance on the tourism issue: "Certainly our ADM advocates that we are in the tourism business, but from a policy and legislation perspective, we're not - that's not our business" (Parks Canada interview 5).

Lee's efforts in this area are seen to be linked with the new urgency for revenue earning capacity: "We got a new ADM, Tom Lee...and one of the first things the ADM said was 'we need to get our financial house in order' - that led to a National Business Plan, it led to a revenue strategy..." (Parks Canada interview 5). Linked with this, Lee was a driving force behind the establishment of the Heritage Tourism Secretariat and presumably the External Relations Branch. Lee was also influential in the decision for Parks Canada to gain Special Operating Agency status, and was appointed Chief Executive of the Agency upon its creation.

Similarly, Lee has been endeavouring to establish a more senior level strategic relationship with the CTC (Parks Canada interview 3; Industry Canada 1995a;). He has been very positive about creating a stronger Parks Canada - CTC relationship from the time that the CTC was first established in 1995, and has maintained a continual contact with the Chief Executive of the CTC, Doug Fyfe, exploring and suggesting further mechanisms for co-operation (Parks Canada 1997f; Parks Canada 1997h). Most importantly, there appears to be a level of agreement between Lee and Fyfe concerning the role of national parks in tourism. For example in a meeting with Fyfe in 1997, Lee indicated that "the product is there and under-utilised" (Parks Canada 1997h).

Doug Fyfe, on the other hand, has been less forward in promoting the relationship. This may be because of the CTC Board structure, and a smaller degree of autonomy than his counterpart in Parks Canada. Fyfe, according to a previous employee of Tourism Canada, as an executive in Tourism Canada didn't believe that policy was important, and worked hard to get rid of the formal policy making aspect of that organisation and reallocate funds to marketing (Associate interview 1).⁹² This may have impacted on the previous Tourism Canada - Parks Canada relationship, by reducing the mainly policy-driven avenues for communication between the two organisations. However in the current environment where the Parks Canada - CTC relationship is predominantly marketing driven, the leanings of the CTC's Chief Executive appear to be less important.

That the CTC has not been quite as enthusiastic about developing the relationship as has Parks Canada, may be in part be related to what could be interpreted as a 'go it alone' attitude on the part of Fyfe. Fyfe was allegedly responsible for the decision for Canada to withdraw its membership from two collaborative organisations: the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) in 1996 and PATA (Pacific Asia Travel Association) in 1997 (Simmonds 1997). In relation to the former, an informant from within the tourism industry reports that in 1997 Fyfe was a strong candidate to be the next WTO President. But unfortunately at a WTO conference he got inebriated, made a fool of himself and was subsequently passed over for the position. Consequently, the decision to pull out of the WTO was motivated by personal revenge (Anon, pers. comm., 1997). In a memo from the Minister of Industry to the Minister of Canadian Heritage, the decision to withdraw from the WTO was justified on the grounds that the "WTO has not proved to be particularly effective" (Minister of Industry 1996:1). The decision has had ramifications for Canadian consulting work, as work was being undertaken for both the WTO and the WCED at the time (Anon, pers. comm., 1997). It could also be purported to show a lack of concern or commitment for sustainable tourism development, especially as Canada and the WTO were leading work on sustainable tourism at the time, e.g. indicators of sustainable tourism.

11.3.12 The value of personal relations

Personal relationships between staff in organisations have been identified in IOR research as a factor in the relationship at the organisational level. However, in this study, this did not appear to be a significant factor in relations between Parks Canada and the CTC. Instead, personal factors were found to impact more upon relations with and between interest groups, and these will be addressed in the following chapter.

11.4 Summary of the current relationship

Interviews with participants in the contemporary relationship between Parks Canada and the CTC reveal a relationship undergoing a dynamic process of change that is in turn impacting significantly upon the entire national park – tourism domain.

Participants confirm the documentary evidence of a relationship that has changed significantly in terms of the nature of the exchange occurring. Two key developments are seen to be responsible for this change. The first is that through federal macro-economic policy, manifested in downsizing, reduced budgets and a renewed emphasis on self generated

⁹² Doug Fyfe was Director-General of Tourism in the Department of Industry, before being appointed President of the CTC (Government of Canada 1995a).

revenue, Parks Canada has been pushed toward intensifying its relationships with partners that can assist it in its new revenue generating requirement. Thus resource scarcity has acted as a facilitating factor in Parks Canada's evolving relationship with the CTC, through which it may seek to increase tourism-generated revenue.

A number of critical contingencies are apparent for the formation of this relationship: from the perspective of Parks Canada, the contingency of *reciprocity* dictates that Parks Canada will seek the resources of the marketing reach and promotional skills that the NTO possesses, in exchange for tacit agreement for the NTO to use images of national parks as key components of their domestic and international marketing programmes. Attached to this is an implicit agreement that national parks are a tourism resource available for a certain amount of (moderated) exploitation. The contingency of *stability* is also demonstrated in the relationship, in the way in which a motivation for entering the relationship has been, through generating revenue, the achievement of a degree of economic security: direct funding from the market is seen to be more dependable than public appropriations. For the parks agency, a consequence of economic security may be political stability, in an environment characterised by restructuring and instability. Further to these motivations, the contingency of *assymetry* is also apparent in the way that Parks Canada have sought to assert control, through the relationship, over the manner in which national parks are portrayed to the public through tourism promotional material.

The irony of Parks Canada being required to form partnerships with the tourism industry because of scarce resources, is that the relationship itself with the CTC is dependent on funding. The CTC's relationships are budget driven, and highly standardised in terms of the units and terms of exchange. Because of reduced budgets, Parks Canada have not achieved full legitimacy in that tourism domain in terms of access to the highest decision making level. Thus for Parks Canada, resource scarcity is both a facilitator *and* an inhibitor of the relationship.

The second major development in the relationship is a narrowing of the linkage between the organisations. Under the previous structures of the NTO, the relationship has included components of both marketing, and policy development. But the revised CTC structure with its narrow focus on marketing and loss of traditional policy role, has meant that one avenue for linking with the parks agency has disappeared. This has ramifications for the integrated planning seen as necessary for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism development. One manifestation of this loss of policy role for the NTO has been that institutional arrangements for debating sustainable tourism development, for example through the required Sustainable Development Strategies, have not realised their potential. Previously, under Tourism Canada,

formalised policy linkages between the organisations permitted policy interaction. Admittedly, there were issues between the organisations in terms of differing values, but policy interaction did occur.

Further inhibiting factors are also linked to federal macro economic policy. At the time of study, structures and process were observed by participants to be inhibiting factors in the relationship. Parks Canada's traditional bureaucratic system has inhibited business relations with the CTC. However federal policy that imposes the business model on federal organisations may alleviate this situation. Changes to the parks agency in terms of it acquiring Special Operating Agency status will provide it with greater financial flexibility, and facilitate a higher degree of co-ordination in this aspect of the relationship. Similarly, the CTC's new crown corporation status will provide that organisation, too, with greater financial flexibility.

A less desirable aspect of these imposed changes across the federal government has been the frequent occurrence of restructuring, particularly of Parks Canada. This is seen to have affected the *stability* of linkages with the CTC. Changing mandates, organisational priorities, structures and staff have led to a loss of 'institutional memory' and have not provided a stable platform on which to maintain relationships. Further to this, the level of change to Parks Canada in terms of restructuring and threat to personal security has impacted on staff, and resulted for some staff in the development of an inward or personal focus rather than the outward or organisational focus that may be more desirable in terms of relationships.

Within both organisations there is a recognition of the value of co-operation, although this is more of an imperative in Parks Canada than in the CTC. Within Parks Canada it is apparent that at a high level in particular, there is a recognition of the value of co-operation with the tourism sector. The leadership of Parks Canada in its strong advocacy of partnerships with the tourism sector has been a significant facilitating factor in the relationship with the CTC. However it is evident that this view is not necessarily shared by all staff, some feeling that the mandate of the organisation is being challenged by the relationship. Parks Canada management is aware of this schism, and are taking steps to change organisational values and norms to help facilitate the relationship. Part of this feeling among staff may be attributable to an historic climate of distrust that had prevailed at periods in the relationship. It is also attributable to the difference in professional backgrounds and related values held by staff in the two organisations.

Because there is not a comprehensive coincidence of values between Parks Canada and CTC staff on the issue of tourism in national parks, one mechanism that has been utilised effectively to facilitate the relationship has been the bridging organisation of the Heritage Tourism

Secretariat. The Secretariat, operating directly under Parks Canada's parent department, has enabled Parks Canada to take part in the collaboration with the CTC, without Parks Canada being directly involved in the negotiations - when the above factors of values, norms and backgrounds could act as inhibitors. Part of the bridging mechanism, is the link between 'tourism' and 'heritage' in what may be an attempt to sanitise tourism for Parks Canada through this association i.e. tourism is acceptable and justifiable in national parks if it is linked to celebrating Canada's heritage.

The next chapter will examine the role of interest groups within this domain, and how they may have impacted the parks – tourism relationship. The structure and function of the three interest groups selected for this study are outlined, and the chapter will explore how historically these groups have contributed to the debate on national park tourism in Canada. Documentary evidence of the historic and contemporary relationships that these stakeholders have with one another and with the parks agency and the NTO will be considered. The chapter will also serve as a precursor to Chapter Thirteen, which considers participants' perceptions of the contemporary relationships involving interest groups in this domain.

Chapter 12: The interest groups

12.1 The importance of the interest groups

As outlined in Chapters Ten and Eleven, interest groups have been one of the factors impacting on the relationship between the NTO and the parks agency. As far back as 1911, when the Parks Branch was first created, there were groups with opposing views on how national parks should be managed. One of those groups, for example, was a non-government group called the Alpine Club of Canada, which expressed a preference for parks being kept in a pristine state (Taylor 1990). But the immense development that occurred in Canada's national parks from that period through to the 1960s, illustrates perhaps the lack of influence of groups such as the Alpine Club, or indeed the lack of any large scale interest in Canada over this time, for preserving national parks in such a state.

More recently, however, public interest has become perhaps *the* most important factor in the management of national parks (Dearden 1995). This has to a large extent been the result of the work of non-governmental organisations in mobilising public and political support in opposition to development initiatives.

Interest groups are important in terms of publicising or politicising parks issues, and also in terms of the co-operative arrangements that are being forged with government bodies. Nelson (1995) comments that environmental resource planning in Canada is moving into an era characterised by a shared approach involving increased civic procedures and activities by business interests, NGOs and citizen groups.

This chapter will examine the nature of three tourism and environmental interest groups: the Tourist Industry Association of Canada; the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society; and the Canadian Nature Federation. The chapter briefly examines the history, function and structure and relationships of each of the interest groups represented in this study, their modes of action, and the extent to which they have shaped the nature of tourism development in national parks. The nature of their relationships with one another and with the key stakeholders will be observed as revealed through documentary evidence.

12.2 The Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society

The 1960s witnessed a growing awareness amongst a sector of the public of the need to protect parks from what was seen to be inappropriate development. The 1961 "Resources for Tomorrow" Conference in Montreal called for conservation and multiple use rather than preservation with respect to parks. This alarmed national parks supporters who banned

together to form the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC) in 1963 (CPAWS 1999b). NPPAC was renamed in 1985 to become the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS).

CPAWS, which describes itself as "Canada's grassroots voice for wilderness", today claims 13,000 members (CPAWS 1999). The organisation is a registered non-profit charitable organisation, with its direction set by a "grassroots" (representative of individual members) national Board comprising twenty-one members. CPAWS has a small national office, located in Toronto up until May 1999, at which time, the office transferred to Ottawa. But much of the grass roots work of the organisation is undertaken through a series of branches or "chapters" of which there are ten across Canada.

In 1997 there were less than half a dozen paid staff in the national office, and about five full time equivalents in the chapters, totalling approximately a dozen paid staff in total (ENGO interview 1). The organisation relies heavily on volunteer work, with nearly 400 volunteers nationally donating over a million dollars worth of time each year (CPAWS 1999).

The CPAWS budget in 1997 was approximately \$2.3 million (CPAWS 1999). Of this, approximately \$730,000 arises from individual donations, and \$1.3 million from corporate, foundation and other donations. In 1998, CPAWS received donations from two federal government agencies, Parks Canada, and Environment Canada (CPAWS 1999). The Parks Canada donation is of interest as the Executive Director of CPAWS commented in 1997, that the annual \$15,000 grant from Parks Canada had been lost in 1996 (ENGO interview 3). The nature of CPAWS funding demonstrates clearly that while a grassroots organisation, CPAWS has relied heavily on its relationship with federal organisations and corporate bodies who share their concerns. However, in terms of decision-making these 'partners' remain silent.

CPAWS answers to a board of National Directors, comprising eight members. All members have a conservation background, and include some academics. There is also a Board of Trustees, comprising mainly academics from the resource management field. There is no representation on either of these boards by the federal government or any of the other organisations in this study. Although the tourism industry is not represented, some of the boards' members are respected academics in the tourism/natural resource management field.

12.2.1 CPAWS's mission

The CPAWS's mission statement includes "protecting Canada's wild ecosystems in parks, wilderness and similar natural areas, preserving the full diversity of habitats and their species" (CPAWS 1999b). The mission also includes promoting awareness and understanding of the value of wilderness through education.

CPAWS credits itself with playing a role in saving 350,000 square kilometres of wilderness, since its inception in 1963. At the time, any national parks with any commercial development had an 'advisory committee' of several local businessmen and politicians who were consulted by the Parks Branch, often over and above the local park staff, regarding park development decisions (CPAWS 1999b:2). Many considered that there was a need for an informed, non-governmental organisation to promote park values, and to redress the absence of input from a preservationist position. In fact, the creation of NPPAC in 1963 was partly in response to a plea from the Minister responsible for national parks, the Hon. Alvin Hamilton: "How can a minister stand up against the pressures of commercial interests...unless the people who love these parks are prepared to band together and support the minister by getting the facts out across the country?" (Hansard 1960 in CPAWS 1999b:3).

Early successes of the NPPAC include the first national parks management policy, which was created in 1964 reportedly as a result of the urging of the NPPAC (CPAWS 1999b).⁹³ CPAWS argues that they have influenced every policy revision since then, as well as contributing to the 1988 National Parks Act amendments. A CPAWS Trustee and the CPAWS Director of Conservation were both recognised in the House of Commons for their role in building support for the passage of the National Parks Amendment Bill (CPAWS 1999b). Another significant moment in the history of the NPPAC was its involvement in the federal government's rejection of a proposed tourism development at Lake Louise, Banff National Park, in 1972. NPPAC had run an intensive campaign against this ski resort expansion, and regarded Minister Chretien's decision to reject the proposal on the grounds of the potential impacts, as a "great victory" (CPAWS 1999b:18). Other successes include being involved in the decision to create the Gwaii Haanas National Park on South Moresby Island in 1988. For its involvement there, CPAWS was recognised with an award from the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (CPAWS 1999b).

CPAWS also claim credit for the implementation of the highly significant Banff-Bow Valley Study undertaken in 1996 (CPAWS 1999b). The study has probably been the most in-depth analysis of the impacts of tourism development in a national park, ever undertaken in North America. The study was, they say, a result of the CPAWS call for an end to commercial development in Banff. Furthermore, recent moves by the Minister of Canadian Heritage to temporarily freeze all development in national parks while a federally appointed panel examines ecological integrity in parks, is said to be a direct result of CPAWS conservation work (CPAWS 1999). Other recent outcomes include contributing to the ending of

⁹³ It is likely that other influences were also at play in the development of this first parks policy, for example the Glassco Commission on Government Organisation, which was critical of the conflicting goals of park management.

commercial logging in Wood Buffalo National Park, and amending key legislation such as the National Parks Act and the Parks Canada Agency Act (CPAWS 1999:2).

The organisation has four major programmes: "New Parks", a campaign to establish new protected areas; "Park Solutions", a campaign to preserve the ecological integrity of parks; "Natural Connections", a campaign to establish migratory corridors of protected areas e.g. Yellowstone to Yukon; "Law and Policy" focuses on improving conservation laws and policies. The national park protection campaign has the specific goals of "permanently capping commercial development in all national parks" and to "assist Parks Canada in delivering on their core mandate to maintain ecological integrity, instead of focusing overly on commercial tourism" (CPAWS 1999:1). CPAWS sees that improving management of national parks will also influence and improve parks management overall, throughout the provinces and territories of Canada.

12.2.2 Criticism of national parks management

CPAWS are critical of national park management, taking every opportunity to publicly chastise Parks Canada, accusing them, for example, of "decades of poor management decisions" in parks such as Banff (CPAWS 1999:2). They have publicised throughout North America that the future of bears and wolves in Banff National Park is being put at risk by excessive development. CPAWS describe national parks as being "under siege", citing the 1997 Parks Canada State of the Parks Report, which identifies significant to severe ecological stresses in 31 of the 38 national parks. CPAWS believes that Parks Canada's park management policies are excellent, "its in the execution that things sometimes run amok" (CPAWS 1999:2). They accuse Parks Canada of "wheeling, dealing and excuse making" and regarding developments in parks, consider that the "EIA of Environmental Impact Assessment now stands for *Environmental Impact Approval*" (CPAWS-BC 1997). They maintain that the mandate of the National Parks Act that ecological integrity must be the first priority in park management has been only "sporadically applied" (CPAWS 1997:3). However, CPAWS acknowledges that Parks Canada is moving away from "courting commercialisation and growth", but says that their actions have led to great impacts on the ecological integrity of some parks. Now is the time, CPAWS argues "to assist Parks Canada in re-energising itself around its core mandate - to preserve nature", and to elevate the stature of Parks Canada within the federal government (CPAWS 1997:3).

12.2.3 CPAWS's modes of action

CPAWS works towards its advocacy goals through publicity, nationally (and internationally as in the case of Banff), through letter-writing campaigns, media releases, media events (e.g. organising a protest march through Banff townsite) and the publication of the society's

newsletter, "The Wilderness Activist".⁹⁴ These campaigns are aimed at raising the profile of conservation issues, to gain financial and lobbying support on the issues, and to embarrass or force the concerned parties into corrective action.

Another publicity (and lobbying) vehicle for CPAWS is the organisation of high profile conferences. In 1968 the NPPAC sponsored "The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow Conference". This was followed in 1978 by the "Canadian National Parks Today and Tomorrow Conference: Ten Years Later". More recently CPAWS sponsored the 1999 "Parks Forum 2 Conference" held in Vancouver (CPAWS 1999b). This conference was presented by CPAWS in partnership with Parks Canada and two other provincial partners. In yet another approach to influence decision makers, CPAWS in 1998 commissioned a "national omnibus public opinion survey" that gathered opinions from voting-aged Canadian residents on their attitudes towards a number of issues related to the environment. A focus of the survey was commercial activity in national parks with survey results indicating a high degree of opposition to commercial developments. In conducting this survey, CPAWS was demonstrating the magnitude of sympathy in the electorate for park issues, and the level of support for its policies, thus providing the government with a fairly clear message on the electorate's position on tourism developments in national parks. CPAWS also directly lobbies federal departments, and members of Parliament, including the Minister of Canadian Heritage, and the Secretary of State for Parks (CPAWS 1999b). One could surmise that with the recent shift of the national office to Ottawa, this line of action may assume a higher profile.⁹⁵

Since 1992, CPAWS has also sought to achieve its goals through the legal system when following unsuccessful lobbying of the federal Environment Minister to stop logging in the Wood Buffalo National Park, CPAWS decided to sue the federal government. This resulted in a successful ruling from the federal court that logging in the park was illegal (CPAWS 1999b). Since that time, CPAWS has taken further legal action, the most significant being the challenge to Parks Canada on the Sunshine ski area development proposal in a ground breaking suit concerning the requirement for a full environmental assessment of the development proposal: "The long battle over Sunshine is being seen as a key test for future development of the country's best known national park, with implications for all national parks" (Vancouver Sun, 1996). CPAWS attained the representation of the Sierra legal Defence Fund in this protracted suit, and in 1996 a Federal Court ruled in favour of CPAWS, ordering a full environmental assessment of the proposed ski resort expansion. The following year, in February 1997 the Supreme Court upheld the Federal Court ruling that the assessment was required. This entire process took four years, three lawsuits and eight appeals. Since then

⁹⁴ For example, at the height of the campaign for a national park on South Moresby Island, as many as 100 letters supporting the national park were arriving in the British Columbia Premier's office every hour (CPAWS 1999b).

⁹⁵ The move of the CPAWS national office to Ottawa was proposed as early as 1986 (CPAWS 1999b).

CPAWS has again resorted to litigation: a lawsuit was launched by CPAWS in collaboration with other ENGOs, including the Canadian Nature Federation, in October 1997. This suit concerned the granting of federal approval for the Cheviot open-pit coal mine that was proposed adjacent to Jasper National Park. In April 1999, the federal court ruled in favour of the ENGOs and authorisation for the mine was quashed, however, the case is ongoing with an appeal initiated in March 2000.

The innovation of using the legal system to challenge park developments is a more recent phenomenon in Canada, compared to the United States, where litigation on the part of ENGOs has long been accepted practice (Dwivedi and Carroll 1980). This is partly due to the legal difficulty in Canada for plaintiffs to prove their legal standing in the eyes of the court, as a prerequisite to taking action against the federal government (Rounthwaite 1982). A significant success has been that CPAWS is now recognised by the courts to have standing in litigation relating to national parks.⁹⁶ Another reason for this difference may be cultural, in that Canadians generally consider themselves to be less litigious than Americans, and consequently, ENGOs are perhaps less willing to adopt this litigious approach on behalf of their members. Also the ENGOs in Canada, with a smaller membership may be less well resourced to pursue conservation ends through the expensive legal system.

12.2.4 CPAWS's co-operation with other organisations in this study

The NPPAC's 1963 policy outlined how it would "co-operate with governmental agencies and with private, non-profit, charitable, educational and scientific organisations in protecting the integrity of national and provincial parks" (CPAWS 1999b: 4). This commitment has remained little changed. The current CPAWS mission statement includes "working co-operatively with government, First Nations, business, other organisations and individuals in a consensus-seeking manner, wherever possible" (CPAWS 1999:1). The noticeable introductions are First Nations, as a stakeholder having greater recognition now than in the 1960s, and also the role of business.

However, this principle (to co-operate) is tempered by the desire to "aggressively take our case to the public and to politicians out there in the world of public opinion" (CPAWS 1999:4). This has also been an historic part of the CPAWS and the NPPAC's approach. The first Executive Director of the NPPAC, Gavin Henderson wanted Canadians to "get angry and militant whenever they [parks] are threatened" (CPAWS 1999b: 4).

⁹⁶ "The question of a plaintiff's status to maintain an action in the courts is one of the most confused areas of Anglo-Canadian jurisprudence...an individual had no status to challenge governmental action unless he was specifically affected or exceptionally prejudiced" (Rounthwaite 1982:57)

12.2.5 CPAWS – and other environmental group relations

Despite this tendency towards “militancy”, CPAWS have certainly proven their ability to work co-operatively with some organisations, and in particular, other ENGOs. There are many examples from the NPPAC and CPAWS history to illustrate this. As far back as 1974, the NPPAC was joining with the Canadian Nature Federation and other ENGOs to support amendments to the National Parks Act (CPAWS 1999b). The pinnacle of recent co-operation has been the legal action pursued jointly with the Canadian Nature Federation and other ENGOs concerning the proposed Cheviot Mine near Jasper National Park. An action such as this demonstrates a high degree of commitment and trust between the ENGOs, to enter into a likely protracted and expensive legal process. CPAWS is unique among ENGOs in its focus on national and provincial parks, and as such complements other ENGOs, such as the CNF, which may have strengths in a different area, such as natural science. As such, CPAWS and the CNF are not in direct competition with each other, as they often focus on different issues, and likely attract different memberships. This does not preclude them working together, however, which they often do, and very effectively. Also, there has historically been some staff overlap between the organisations, for example, the former executive Director, Kevin McNamee was later to become President of the CNF. Both ENGOs are members of the “Group of Eight” coalition that undertake co-ordinated lobbying on environmental issues (Wilson 1992).

12.2.6 CPAWS – parks agency relations

CPAWS has had involvement with Parks Canada, and other stakeholders to a lesser degree, on various projects (e.g. co-operation on publications such as the ‘Buffalo Book’ in 1977 (CPAWS 1999b)) and through a number of forums. One of the earliest examples of structured co-operation in a forum setting is from 1970, when the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, appointed a NPPAC member to a task force studying development in the Canadian Arctic. In 1986, the federal Task Force on National Park Establishment was announced, and established through a contract between the NPPAC and Parks Canada, and headed by CPAWS Trustee, John Theberge (CPAWS 1999b). More recently, CPAWS have been involved with the highly significant Banff-BowValley report process, and although not being represented on the Task Force, were on the Banff-Bow Valley Round Table. This was the primary mechanism for public participation in the identification, analysis and resolution of issues (BBVTF 1996). CPAWS had two representatives on the steering committee of the Round Table. Following the release of the report, the President of CPAWS, Harvey Locke was appointed to a five member advisory committee to make recommendations on the implementation of the report to the ADM Parks Canada (CPAWS 1997). More recently, (November 1998) the Secretary of State for Parks announced the creation of a Panel on Ecological Integrity in Canada's National Parks. The objective of the Panel is to assess the

approach Parks Canada is taking to maintain the ecological integrity of parks. The temporary ten member panel comprises environmental advisors, ecologists, and resource management specialists. CPAWS is represented on the panel by a national trustee and past president, Juri Peepre. In the absence of other stakeholder representatives (apart from First Nations), Peepre's inclusion on the Panel must be seen as significant, although Peepre is also a member of the World Commission on Protected Areas, and this status may have contributed to his selection.

But CPAWS have historically been dissatisfied with the level of representation of stakeholders in the park policy process. Since 1966, the NPPAC had been advocating greater involvement of stakeholders in the park policy process, and have called for co-ordinated planning (CPAWS 1999b). In this respect, recommendations on a number of occasions have been made for the federal government to establish national and individual parks advisory boards. In 1984, the NPPAC were invited, but boycotted meetings with Parks Canada concerning the future of the Four Mountain Parks, as the meetings were invitation only. The NPPAC argued that these meetings were elitist and exclusionary, because they did not properly invite nor consequently consider public opinion. To date, these pleas for greater representation have not been fully satisfied, as witnessed by CPAWS and other ENGOs' recent unactioned requests for the federal government to legislate for the inclusion of an advisory council in the new structure of the new Parks Canada Agency.

However, CPAWS view is at odds with some observers, who have complimented the parks agency for their inclusory approach to planning. As far back as 1978, Nelson described Parks Canada as a "leader in public participation" (Nelson 1978 in Green 1979:736). Similarly, Dearden (1995) believes that Parks Canada should be congratulated for their openness with respect to the development of the 1994 Parks Canada publication "Guiding Principles and Operational Policies". This document was probably their most important policy document of the decade, and Dearden comments that considerable modifications were made to the document from the time the first public draft was circulated to the accepted policy.

Why is there an obvious difference in perceptions evident here? To outside observers, the parks agency appears to be operating a fair, equitable and inclusive programme of policy development, yet CPAWS are unsatisfied. This dissatisfaction is most likely rooted in the lack of formalised or structured inclusion within long term key institutional arrangements that ENGOs such as CPAWS desire (and indeed observe in such sectors as tourism).

The 1994 Guiding Principles (Parks Canada 1994) is seen as the 'bible' of the parks organisation. Within the document it is noted that public involvement, along with

collaboration and co-operation with a broad range of federal, provincial, territorial and municipal agencies, the private sector and interest groups, "is a cornerstone of policy, planning and management practices" (Parks Canada 1994:8). But despite the above policy guidelines, the lack of consultation or meaningful partnerships has been a constant subject of ENGO criticism. The Chair of CPAWS commented at the 1994 Federal Provincial Parks Conference (theme: Heritage Partnerships) that there is still "more talk than positive action on partnerships" (Peepre 1994:43). He criticised the government (read "Parks Canada") for getting ENGOS involved in a project so that they will be less likely to criticise it, or to get public support for an idea or project. Similarly, other ENGOS involved in Parks Canada forums sometimes feel that such forums are designed simply to keep them busy, while more powerful (tourism) organisations go straight to Ottawa (Jamal 1999). Partly due to these problems, ENGOS are forced to resort to publicly chastise government, or even resort to litigation. As Peepre notes, "...partnerships are not all fuzzy, happy feelings" (Peepre 1994:50).

As noted above, in addition to problems with a perceived lack of consultation, relations with Parks Canada are also characterised by a tone of disapproval from CPAWS for what are seen as poor management decisions in national parks. Occasionally, Parks Canada receives recognition from CPAWS for making what is perceived to be the 'correct' decision. In 1972 the NPPAC established the J.B.Harkin Medal, an award to honour the memory and accomplishments of Canada's first Commissioner of National Parks (1911-1936), and to recognise others who "served the cause of conservation with distinction" (CPAWS 1999b:20). The first recipient of the award was the Hon. Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs (and current Prime Minister).⁹⁷ The award was partially in recognition of Chretien's 1972 decision to reject the Lake Louise tourism development proposal in Banff National Park. But although this was a pat on the back for the Minister, it was not necessarily a pat on the back for the National Parks Service, who at the time, were supportive of the development (Lothian 1977).⁹⁸ In fact, in the very same year, with the new federal Department of the Environment being formed, the NPPAC pushed for the transfer of the National Parks Service to that department, feeling that national parks would be better dealt with by a department devoted to environmental protection (the move to the department would not come until 1979, and in the interim, another stakeholder would push for Parks to come under the Department of Industry and Commerce!). This is illustrative of the difficult task that the parks agency faced in meeting the expectations of the diverse interest groups in this domain, and ultimately, the vulnerability of the agency to the powers of these interests.

⁹⁷ The Hon. Judd Buchanan was to be the next Minister with the parks portfolio. Buchanan was not a recipient of the J.B.Harkin Medal, but later went on to become the Chair of the Board of the CTC (1995).

⁹⁸ The first Parks Canada staff member to receive the J.B. Harkin Medal was Alex T. Davidson, former Assistant Deputy Minister of conservation in the Department of the Environment. He was in charge of Parks Canada for much of the 1970s and 1980s when many new parks and other gains were made (CPAWS 1999b)

12.2.7 CPAWS – tourism industry relations

CPAWS relationship with the tourism industry is not dissimilar to that with the parks agency in terms of the potential for conflict, although the gulf between the ideology of CPAWS and that of tourism interests is considerably greater. However, tourism interests have not usually been the direct target of CPAWS campaigns, rather the decision-makers who permit tourism developments within parks are the targets. Lobbying of the federal department responsible for tourism has been undertaken on occasion, however. An example concerns the Lake Louise ski resort development. As discussed above, this proposal was rejected in 1972. However, the proposal was revived in 1978 by the federal Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Hon. Jack Horner, citing the inadequacy of the existing tourism facilities as his rationale (the Department of Trade and Commerce was at the time, the home for the Canadian Government Office of Tourism). The NPPAC "strongly urged" the Minister to seriously reconsider his proposal to resurrect the project (CPAWS 1999b).

The NPPAC has, on occasion, directly challenged individual private tourism interests, and it is likely that this has caused a flow-on effect with its relations with other parts of the tourism industry, both public and private. In 1982, the NPPAC was part of a coalition of ENGOs that took action resulting in Canadian Pacific Rail (CPR) being charged with five counts of polluting at Summit lake in Yoho National Park (CPAWS 1999b). The CPR has historically been one of the most significant tourism concerns in Canada, especially with respect to national parks. They have also historically had a high profile in tourism interest groups such as TIAC. More recently, on occasion CPAWS have publicly criticised tourism developers. In 1997, Canadian Pacific Hotels proposed major additions to their complex at Lake Louise in Banff National Park. This was shortly after the release of the Banff-Bow Valley Study that in effect called for a halt on development in the park. The President of CPAWS, Harvey Locke criticises the company: "From the way that these development proposals are going, you would think that the findings of the Banff-Bow Valley Study were that Banff was underdeveloped, instead of in a deep ecological crisis": Locke describes Banff as an "aesthetic mess, an eyesore, and its all because of the commercial development" (CPAWS 1997:3). Locke contends that shopping malls, conference centres and "postcards of Daffy Duck riding an elk" are not what Canadians expect from a national park (Macleans 1997:18). CPAWS has been heavily involved in the development debate in Banff, a debate that the Superintendent of Banff National Park has described as "polarised, confrontational and not constructive" (Macleans 1997:18).

A further consequence of the CPAWS polemic is that the organisation, as a representative of the anti-development movement, is likely to have few friends within the tourism industry.

This is aptly demonstrated by the absence of tourism interests in the long list of CPAWS donors and sponsors (CPAWS 1999). This contrasts with the parks agency, which although consistently publicly chastised by CPAWS, has historically provided a significant grant to the organisation, and to NPPAC before them. What does this signal? Perhaps it is also indicative of the parks agency realising the value of maintaining the relationship, and that provision of funding is one means of maintaining a positive relationship. Perhaps it is indicative of Parks Canada realising the important role that CPAWS plays in advocating ecological integrity in parks, and could in this light be seen as 'payment for work done' in providing support within the domain. Note, however, that the Parks Canada grant to CPAWS was removed in 1996. The reason for this, although not stated, is less likely to be malicious, rather it is more likely to be because of economic imperatives, considering Parks Canada's financial position at the time.

As mentioned above, one of the vehicles for publicising CPAWS policies has been through the sponsorship of conferences on park issues. But as well as being publicity vehicles, the organisation of such forums, and inviting or attracting a broad group of stakeholders, displays a certain amount of willingness on the part of CPAWS to achieve interaction among domain members and integration, by getting disparate groups that are not normally in the same fora to discuss openly their views on park policy. The 1968 "The Canadian National Parks Today and Tomorrow Conference", for example, was the first time that government officials, academics, scientists and concerned citizens had been brought together, and "generated new insights into park planning and management" (Nelson in CPAWS 1999b:11). Later conferences were to be co-sponsored with other organisations including the Parks Branch ("The Canadian National Parks Today and Tomorrow Conference: Ten Years Later" in 1978 and more recently the "Parks Forum 2 Conference" in 1999). CPAWS have also sponsored a conference on ecotourism (Whitehorse 1991), in which attendees adopted a code of ethics (CPAWS 1999b).

One outcome of these conferences was the proposal from the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC) to form a joint committee with ENGOs to discuss tourism development issues in parks (Henderson 1980:43). In 1979, the Special Committee on Tourism and Conservation was established. The Committee's mandate was to consider the need for some ongoing mechanism which would bring together conservation and tourism interests in the private sector to study and discuss issues of mutual concern, and to work together, and with governments to resolve those issues. NPPAC's aim was to try to develop a joint policy and strategy with TIAC. In 1980, a NPPAC trustee described how they and TIAC got together to explore the idea of developing a closer relationship between tourism and conservation interests: "...continuation of the adversary relationship that has existed since the early 60s would serve neither the interests of conservation or tourism" (Henderson 1980:43). This statement is ironic

considering that an ‘adversarial’ approach had served the interests of preservation more than once. However, although the idea of a conservation and tourism council had support in principle, there was no real commitment from either side, and negotiations consequently ceased. This was attributed to incompatible goals, principally that NPPAC could not agree with the goal of “maximising the sustained yield of tourism benefits from parks while protecting and perpetuating park values” – especially given the forecast increased tourism demand (Henderson 1980:44). Perhaps too, NPPAC felt that they could continue to realise their objectives without the need for a co-operative agreement with an interest group that had historically held what were perceived to be antithetical values.

This development (or lack of) is significant as the first concrete step to establish and formalise a dialogue between these disparate interests. NPPAC partly attributed the blame for this failure on the federal departments, Parks Canada and Tourism Canada, claiming that they actually sought the assistance of interest groups to compete with each other. They were accused of:

“...each heavily supporting non-government client organisations to help them compete when they should be co-operating...competition between these separate agencies vis-à-vis the use and management of the national parks results inevitably in similar polarisation between their respective client organisations in the private sector...From the government’s point of view, keeping alive and even encouraging this adversary psychology may be seen as sound political strategy” (Henderson 1980:45).

These accusations aside, NPPAC noted that the Canadian tourism industry did have a very negative attitude towards conservation policies in parks, and also that Tourism Canada appeared at times to be actively supporting the industry in its efforts to undermine national parks policy (Henderson 1980:43).

Since that time, there is no evidence to suggest that CPAWS, or indeed any ENGO had established a relationship with TIAC, or with the CTC or its predecessors, Tourism Canada or the CGOT. Both interests have historically ignored each other, and continue to do so. For example, in 1969, an advisory council to the Minister (of Trade and Commerce) was established, with over forty representatives from various industries. There were no members representing environmental (or social) interests on that council. Similarly, under the current structures of the CTC and TIAC there is also no provision for the inclusion of environmental interests.

12.2.8 Resourcing as a critical issue in CPAWS’s relations

A critical feature in the CPAWS’s history has been the constant struggle to stay afloat – the impact of this on relationships with other stakeholders must be considered. During the early campaigns of the 1970s, the membership was very low (about 2500 in 1972) and there were

few paid staff (CPAWS 1999b). A financial crisis in 1969 was averted when an anonymous benefactor provided the Executive Director's salary for three years. In the mid 1980s, membership had dropped down to 1,100, and the budget was only \$50,000. Despite launching a new magazine, *Borealis*, as part of a major membership and fundraising drive, by 1989, CPAWS were laying off staff "due to financial exigency" (CPAWS 1999b:41). As recently as 1994, and even with the current substantial membership of 13,000, CPAWS have had to suspend publication of their magazine *Borealis*, due to financial reasons (CPAWS 1999b). To what extent does this resourcing issue affect the ability of CPAWS, not only to run effective campaigns, but also to establish and maintain links with other parks stakeholders? In 1976, Parks Canada asked the NPPAC to be on a joint panel to consider the Environmental Impact Assessment of park development. The NPPAC responded to this invitation, noting the difficulty they would face in being unable to pay their expenses (Parks Canada 1976). Resourcing problems are in part met by the huge amount of work undertaken by volunteer members, and increasingly through co-operation with other environmental groups: the Sierra Legal Defence Fund, for example, provides legal advice for CPAWS for free or minimal cost (SLDF 2000).

Despite their often difficult financial situation, this has seemingly not undermined the ENGO's commitment to their mandate. This could be contrasted with the parks agency who demonstrate certain similarities to the ENGO with respect to their financial exigencies, but who have been accused of compromising their mandate in terms of seeking greater tourism generated revenue from parks at the expense of ecological integrity.

12.2.9 Summary of CPAWS's role and relations

It is evident both from their self-interpreted history and from the recognition granted by independent bodies, that CPAWS has played a significant role in terms of helping in the establishment and management of national parks in Canada. A crucial feature of the organisation is that it arose at a time of conflict, when some very crucial battles were being fought over the future of Canada's national parks. Perhaps as a consequence of this history, CPAWS has to some extent always maintained a degree of 'militancy' and an approach towards other stakeholders in this policy domain that can border at times on being conflictive.

Relationships between CPAWS and other stakeholders varies according to the perceived values gap between the organisations. The relationship with other ENGOs, naturally, is close, with frequent collaboration occurring over some key parks issues. The relationship with the parks agency has changed over time, an important influence being the evolution of parks policy to the point now where it is praised by CPAWS for its protectionist stance. However, because of perceived lapses in the application of the above policy, along with perceived

inadequate consultation with environmental interest groups, CPAWS have maintained their characteristically publicly critical view of the parks agency, and of its management of the parks. This has not prevented the parks agency though, especially in recent times, from seeking (and gaining) CPAWS involvement in structured collaboration via membership of a number of significant forums. CPAWS are also highly represented in the parks planning process at the grassroots level. A key feature of this interorganisational relationship though, is the lack of a permanent institutional arrangement for co-operation at the highest level.

This lack of stakeholder legitimacy has placed CPAWS in the position of having to resort to alternative methods of communicating their goals to the parks agency. Such methods include those typical of media-oriented interest groups, but over the last decade have also included litigation, and increasingly, direct lobbying at the political level. Although such methods on the surface may not appear to be genuine efforts to communicate or co-operate with the parks agency, on another level this is indeed a valuable process in terms of the outcomes for parks, with both parties benefiting. That the parks agency considers this process worthwhile is witnessed by the long-term financial support provided by the parks agency for CPAWS and NPPAC. CPAWS is a key 'client' group, and advocate for the parks agency's stance against tourism development.

As a consequence of the CPAWS staunch position regarding tourism development in national parks, its relationships with tourism interests have been characterised by conflict. Attempts to formalise the relationship have failed. There appears to be little recognition by either group, of the legitimacy of their counterparts as stakeholders in each other's policy processes. To some extent this may be a result of inadequate resourcing, especially for the interest groups, and particularly for CPAWS, which is small, and heavily reliant on grants, donations and volunteer work. This resource poverty may be a key feature of the CPAWS ability or inability to form and maintain relations with a range of other stakeholders in this domain.

However, these interests also occupy opposite ends of the ideological continuum (at least as far as tourism development in national parks is concerned), and CPAWS have not been prepared to compromise their stance on ecological integrity and indeed it is their principle argument. Importantly, what is revealed from the above analysis are a number of factors that are at odds with what collaboration theory indicates. Although the ENGO argues for increased inclusion (greater stakeholder legitimacy) they still maintain the right to work outside of institutional arrangements for co-operation – "out of domain". In doing so, they are indicating that these non-co-operative modes may be more effective for achieving their goals. Also, they have chosen *not* to develop co-operative relations with other members of the domain whom they consider to be too ideologically removed (other "fringe dwellers" such as

TIAC for example). The ENGO demonstrates through these actions that the lack of interconnectedness is at times in fact their source of power, rather than a weakness.

12.3 The Canadian Nature Federation

The Canadian Nature Federation is one of the oldest conservation organisations in Canada. Its roots go back to 1939, when the magazine 'Canadian Nature' was founded (CNF 1999). By 1942, Canadian Nature was enrolling students in Audubon Junior Clubs, and in 1948 the Audubon Society of Canada was established. By 1958 the Canadian Nature magazine was revamped as 'Canadian Audubon' and began to include a strong advocacy component in its editorial. In 1971, the Canadian Audubon Society expanded its mandate and changed its name to the Canadian Nature Federation (CNF) (CNF 1999).

By 1978, CNF membership had reached 20,000, and the organisation had established a history of involvement in some important conservation initiatives across Canada. Significant steps had included the co-sponsorship of the first national conference on Threatened Species and Habitats in 1977 and the publication of 'Canada's Threatened Species and Habitats' (CNF 1999). Also in that year, CNF helped to found the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada. As well as maintaining a focus on endangered species, CNF in the late 1970s and early 1980s broadened their mandate to include pollution issues such as acid rain, becoming a founding member of the Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain. But during the mid to late 1980s, the focus returned to endangered species and habitats. A significant step in 1986 was the launching of a cross-country caravan and video, part of a campaign that helped to save South Moresby Island's forests from logging, and which later led to the establishment of Gwaii Haanas National Park on the islands (CNF 1999). The establishment of the park, was the culmination of a fifteen year campaign to protect these forests, a goal in which the ENGOs had little support from the CPS (because this eco-region already had a national park - the Pacific Rim National Park) (Dearden 1995).

In 1989 the CNF, in co-operation with a national task force, authored a working draft of the National Wildlife Policy for Canada and helped found the Committee on Recovery of Nationally Endangered Wildlife. That same year, the CNF and its affiliates, in partnership with World Wildlife Fund (Canada) launched the Endangered Spaces campaign. This campaign was launched in response to a perceived lack of progress of the CPS in completing the parks system (Dearden 1995). By 1990 this campaign had had some success with various commitments from the federal and provincial governments to create new parks.

In 1991 the CNF completed the report 'A Protected Areas Vision for Canada', and in 1992, the CNF worked with the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers, being appointed to their

executive committee to work on a sustainable forestry strategy (CNF 1999). Also in that year, together with the Canadian Wildlife Service, the CNF launched the Endangered Plants and Invertebrates in Canada programme. In 1994 the CNF and five other conservation groups formed the Canadian Endangered Species Coalition, and launched a campaign for federal endangered species legislation. This resulted in a bill coming before the house in 1996, but dying on the Order Paper in 1997. The late 1990s are characterised by the CNF consolidating its conservation programmes, and strengthening its relations with conservation affiliates (CNF 1999). Over this period, there has also been a focus on increasing its membership.

The Important Bird Areas programme, was launched in 1996 by the CNF and a partner. That year, the CNF commissioned an independent scientific analysis of the boundaries of the proposed Manitoba Lowlands National Park, and called for an expansion of the proposed boundaries. In 1997, the CNF joined other ENGOs in filing a legal suit against the federal government over the Cheviot Mine proposal near Jasper National Park (CNF 1999).

12.3.1 Administration and programmes

In 1999, the CNF had more than 40,000 members and supporters (CNF 1999). The CNF is a non-profit organisation, run by a board comprising ten members, in 1999, all of whom either had a conservation or resource management background, or possess specialised financial or promotional skills. There is no representation on the Board from the governments of Canada, or from the tourism industry. CNF has a small paid staff, employing about a dozen people in its office at Ottawa. It produces the magazine "Nature Canada" which won several awards in the 1980s and 1990s (CNF 1999).

For the 1996/97 year, the CNF had a budget of \$2.3M. Of this, \$603,000 came from membership fees, and \$1.1M from donations and bequests. In that year, financial support was provided by a number of federal departments, including Parks Canada, Environment Canada, and Industry Canada.⁹⁹ There are no tourism industry organisations listed as providing donations or grants to the CNF in 1996 or 1997 (CNF 1997:11, CNF 1996:12).

The CNF runs four national programmes: Wildlands and Seas Conservation; Endangered Species Conservation; Bird Conservation; and Community Education. The CNF works with 116 provincial, territorial and local affiliated naturalist organisations, in implementing these programmes (CNF 1999). The Wildlands and Seas programme works in three ways to protect Canada's wild lands and seas from industrial and commercial development: by generating

⁹⁹ It is uncertain what this financial support comprised, as Parks Canada removed their annual grant (\$10,000) to the CNF in 1994 (ENGO interview 2). No further information is available on the nature of the Environment Canada or Industry Canada financial support.

public support and political action for the establishment of new national parks and national marine conservation areas; by helping to reverse the decline in ecological integrity of existing national parks by speaking out for park values and against inappropriate development; and by supporting the establishment of provincial and territorial protected areas that are of national and international significance (CNF 1999:1).¹⁰⁰ The goal of the programme is to move governments to forego the potential short term financial benefits resulting from exploitation of natural areas, and instead to preserve the "long term ecological, educational, recreational and spiritual values of designated protected areas" (CNF 1999:3).

12.3.2 CNF modes of action

In practical terms, the CNF achieves these goals through the publicity vehicle of its magazine, media releases, letter writing campaigns, and lobbying and representations to the federal and provincial governments. They have also participated in a number of forums, examples of which are described above. A recent move on the part of the CNF has been to resort to litigation to achieve conservation goals. In 1997, the CNF along with CPAWS and three other ENGOs challenged the federal approval of the Cheviot coal mine adjacent to Jasper National Park. In April 1999, the Federal Court found that the joint federal-provincial environmental review did not comply with the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act. The ENGOs consider this a substantial victory, as the result means that a more thorough impact assessment must be completed, and the application to mine be reconsidered (CNF 1999).

The CNF is concerned about the ecological integrity of parks, and note that they work to ensure that all park management decisions are consistent with the Parks Canada 1994 Guiding Principles and Operational Policies. A noticeable feature of the CNF polemic on parks, when compared to that of CPAWS, is that it is less critical of Parks Canada as an organisation. In fact any criticism of Parks Canada is far less overt than that contained in CPAWS publicity material. This supports what CNF describes as a "reasoned approach" to achieving their conservation goals, and has helped gain them "the respect of many Canadians...and of those individuals with whom we work in government, industry and the conservation community" (CNF 1999:1).

Part of this respect is attributed to the practical components of the CNF's conservation programmes. A significant proportion of the CNF membership have ecological skills, and contribute to hands-on conservation projects. For example, since 1996, in partnership with Bird Studies Canada, the CNF has co-ordinated the Important Bird Areas (IBA) programme. Through the programme, members help to identify a network of sites that will conserve the

¹⁰⁰ Out of the 15 resolutions passed at the last two CNF AGMs, all but two concerned provincial or territorial parks or legislation. The remaining two concerned National Parks.

diversity of Canadian bird species. The programme also involves the implementation of protection for those sites and ongoing monitoring of them. The CNF also has a substantial environmental education programme, run through its magazine, through the publication of teachers' handbooks, and the provision of education kits (e.g. the Lady Beetle Survey kit). This is part of the CNF strategy to "lay the foundation through environmental education" (CNF 1998a).

12.3.3 CNF criticism of the Canadian Parks Agency

Although criticism of national parks management may be less piquant than that of some other ENGOs, the CNF have taken a firm stance on a number of parks issues. One issue that the CNF has been engaged in recently was the proposal to establish a Canadian Parks Agency, as a Special Operating Agency. The CNF was critical of a number of aspects of the proposal, and in 1998 provided a substantial brief to the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage's review of Bill C-29, an Act to establish the Canadian Parks Agency (CNF 1999). Although supportive overall of the proposal, the CNF were concerned about the Bill not providing a clear mandate for the Agency. In particular, the Agency needed a mandate to manage visitor use and tourism to ensure the maintenance of ecological integrity:

There has been much debate in the last several years about parks Canada's future. It has focused on major budget cuts to parks Canada and staff layoffs, efforts to raise revenue from park users and foundations and corporations, and to reduce expenses through employee takeovers and increased contractual arrangements with the private sector. Unfortunately, Bill C-29 does nothing to allay these concerns because it does little to explicitly set limits to these initiatives (CNF 1998b:7)

The CNF also consider that the 1994 *Parks Canada Guiding Principles and Operational Policies* (which they believe are "excellent") should be tied into the `legislation, in order to address their concerns about possible future compromise of the ecological integrity of parks.

The other area of major concern is the inadequacy of the public consultation mechanism in the proposed agency. The CNF argue that in spite of voluntary organisations like themselves being asked to do more to help achieve Parks Canada's goals, they continue to be excluded from crucial policy processes, or that their input is ineffectual:

...we recall that in 1985 Parks Canada sponsored the Canadian Assembly on National Parks and Protected Areas. After a year and a half of deliberations, 400 experts from across Canada met. However, Parks Canada never responded to the many recommendations made (CNF 1998b: 5).

The CNF has supported calls by CPAWS for the proposed agency to have greater accountability to the public: "Unfortunately, aside from consulting Canadians on fees and holding biennnial forums, Canadians are effectively shut out of the new Agency" (CNF

1998b:4). The CNF believes that there needs to be "better links between Parks Canada and a range of stakeholders", and in this respect proposed the establishment of a Parks Advisory Council (CNF 1998b:5). While the majority of people who participated in the 1996 public hearings supported the establishment of a public advisory council to the new Agency, the federal government has rejected this idea.¹⁰¹

It is interesting to note that there has never been such a body established on a system-wide basis in Canada. This contrasts with other aspects of the parks organisation's work, for which advisory boards were established at an early date. For example, with respect to historic site management, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada was established in 1919 (Taylor 1990). With respect to wildlife management, there was an Interdepartmental Advisory Board on Wildlife Protection (established in 1916) (Lothian 1981). The absence of a parks advisory body seems to be an anomaly.

The CNF also proposed a Parks Science Council, seen necessary because of a perceived loss of Parks Canada's staff skilled in science, necessitating stronger links with outside experts. It was proposed that both the Science Council and the Advisory Council should include expertise in the following areas: natural and social science, tourism, economics, human use, interpretation and education, town site administration, and voluntary organisations (CNF 1998b: 5).

Another CNF concern with the parks agency proposal relates to the potential conflict between the agency's dual roles of protection and revenue generation, and how this could compromise staff. Given the proposed new power of the Chief Executive Officer to fire staff, the CNF believed it necessary that agency employees be given direction to "...engage in activities that may impinge on its ability to raise revenue, and to press ecological integrity issues were they may be unpopular with other political jurisdictions, industry and public institutions" (CNF 1998b: 5). These comments support the opinions expressed by some parks Canada staff (discussed in Chapter Eleven) concerning the neglected role of science in the organisation, and also reiterate the diversity of opinion among parks staff.

12.3.4 Relationships with the other organisations in this study: CNF relations with CPAWS

As illustrated above, the CNF has well established relationships with other ENGOs, through its affiliates scheme, and through joint action on various environmental issues. The relationship with CPAWS is well developed, to the point where the two organisations have

¹⁰¹ This proposal was actually supported in a recommendation from the Standing Senate Committee on Energy, the Environment and Natural Resources (Canadian Government 1998).

been joint plaintiffs in litigation concerning a threat to a national park (e.g. the Cheviot Mine proposal, Jasper National Park) (CNF 1999).

There is also evidence that the two ENGOs communicate, liaise and support each other concerning submissions to the federal government on environmental matters. There are examples of NPPAC sharing information with the CNF so that both organisations could make a greater lobbying impact. For example, in 1978, NPPAC learned from a high government level, that a politically motivated decision had been made to proceed with a maximum (tourism) development option for Kluane National Park, despite the fact that a third and final phase of the public hearings sponsored by Parks Canada had not yet taken place. The result of sharing this information was a prompt CNF letter to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs concerning the matter (Parks Canada 1978). A more recent example of a co-ordinated approach to policy issues is illustrated by the two organisations' submissions on Bill C-29 the Parks Canada Agency proposal, in 1998 (CNF 1998). In addition to this, the two ENGOs have also been represented in the same forum on occasion, for example in the Banff-Bow Valley Study, both the CNF and CPAWS were members of the Round Table Steering Committee (BBVTF 1996).

12.3.5 CNF – tourism industry relations

The relationship with the tourism industry, and more specifically, CTC and TIAC appears to be under-developed to non-existent. There is no documentary evidence of interaction between these two organisations. It is likely that CNF would on occasion be present at the same forum, for example national park management plan hearings, discussing tourism in the context of protected areas. It is also likely that individual TIAC members would sometimes be direct targets of CNF publicity material or legal action – particularly when this is undertaken jointly with other ENGOs such as CPAWS. However, in a similar manner to CPAWS, CNF advocacy on this issue is more generally directed towards the parks agency, its parent organisation, and its minister.

12.3.6 CNF – Parks agency relations

As with the other ENGO in this study, CPAWS, the CNF's relationship with Parks Canada can be characterised as one of gentle chastisement. As noted above, the difference between the CNF and CPAWS in this respect, is the greater level of vociferousness in the CPAWS material. This probably reflects the CNF's longer history, and its historic focus on natural science and education, and consequent different membership. This contrasts with CPAWS, an organisation established expressly to combat what was seen as resource exploitation within protected areas.

As with CPAWS, the relationship between the CNF and the parks agency has waxed and waned over the years. In 1974 the Director General of Parks wrote to the executive director of the CNF wishing to establish new co-operative relationships with the CNF. CNF replied, taking up the offer, being: "...most desirous of developing more meaningful dialogue with Parks Canada in regards to policy and programmes" (Parks Canada 1975). There are several examples of a co-operative relationship between the two organisations over this period: in 1976 Parks Canada co-operated with the CNF over articles in the Nature Canada magazine, and also in that year, the two organisations also worked together regarding the development of what was to become the first national park in the Dominican Republic (CNF 1988). In a presentation to the CNF AGM in 1976, a Senior Policy Advisor in Parks Canada told the CNF that it was important that organisations such as the CNF "remain vigilant in the future" (CNF 1998). Despite this co-operation, the CNF was, on occasion, also critical of Parks Canada's actions over this period, and there are examples of the CNF lobbying the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs over parks issues (CNF 1998).

In 1978, the Minister responsible for Parks Canada announced a proposal to establish the National Parks Co-operating Association, which would be a non-governmental, non-profit organisation for the promotion and interpretation of the values of Canada's national parks (CNF 1999). That the study undertaken to investigate the establishment and role of the Association was entrusted to a former director of the CNF (Dr T Mosquin), indicates the important role that Parks Canada envisaged ENGOs such as the CNF playing, in this new organisation. It was proposed that co-operative activities would involve the sharing of resources, expertise and responsibilities. The proposal came to fruition and is manifested today in the Canadian Parks Partnership.

Most recently, the Assistant Deputy Minister (Parks), Tom Lee, in giving evidence before the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, noted the important role of ENGOs in parks management, citing the example of the role of the CNF in helping in the creation of new parks (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage 1996).

Primarily, the Parks Canada relationship is semi-structured, being maintained through submissions on park provisional master plans, either by the CNF or by its many affiliates. For some parks there are stakeholder committees with representation by the CNF or its affiliates. The CNF also lobbies Parks Canada, the Minister of Canadian Heritage, the Secretary of State for Parks, and other political targets (CNF 1999).

12.3.7 Summary of CNF role and relations

The CNF exhibits similar characteristics to CPAWS in terms of their functions and their relationships with other organisations in this study. The main difference between these ENGOs is that the CNF is a more conservative organisation, with a different membership, and a broader focus than CPAWS. CNF have tended to be less vocal on national parks issues because of these factors, and their criticism of agencies such as Parks Canada, when forthcoming tends to be less vitriolic than CPAWS.

Over recent years, however, the CNF have been more active on the national parks front, co-operating with CPAWS and other ENGOs in litigation over parks tourism development on occasion. Generally though, relations with the parks organisation have been co-operative, with CNF staff and members being included in a number of structured forums, albeit of a temporary nature. CNF perceives that it has a high level of credibility with the parks agency, partly attributed to its more consensus-seeking approach, and to its ongoing involvement in 'on-the-ground' conservation programmes. The main stumbling block to this relationship appears to be a perceived lack of meaningful consultation of the organisation by Parks Canada. The lack of any permanent structure for ongoing policy input by the CNF has been a particular criticism of the proposed Canadian Parks Agency.

In contrast to CPAWS, where a conflictive relationship with tourism interests exists, there is no evidence that the CNF has developed any relationships with tourism interests.

Although having a larger membership and funding base than CPAWS, the CNF still have minimal staff, considering their broad range of activities, and rely heavily on the work of volunteers.

12.4 The Tourism Industry Association of Canada

The Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC) describes itself as "the leading private sector advocate for policies and programmes which enhance the sustained viability and prosperity of Canada's tourism industry" (TIAC 1995b). TIAC advertises itself to potential members, in outlining its role as being "to affect government thinking and help create conditions that are favourable to your investment and growth..." (TIAC 1996a:1).

TIAC lists some important decisions that it has influenced in the period 1994-1996: the formation of the CTC; the reinstatement of a domestic tourism marketing programme; a federal budget increase for tourism from \$15 million to \$50 million; the launch of open skies; streamlining customs procedures; and federal programmes that support tourism job creation and training (TIAC 1996a).

TIAC has been an active lobbyist on behalf of the tourist industry since the 1970s. The precursor to the Tourism Industry Association of Canada was the Canadian Tourist Association (CTA). Although the CTA and TIAC have been active across a broad range of policy issues, and most notably on taxation, border and marketing issues, they have on occasion focused their attention on the issue of tourism in national parks.

TIAC's primary vehicle for lobbying is access to relevant Ministers, senior management of relevant federal departments, and representations to House of Commons committees and government task forces: "TIAC membership gives you a direct line to the elite decision makers in Ottawa...through our President, Debra Ward, we have earned the kind of credibility that gives us immediate access to federal policy makers" (TIAC 1996a:1). From the attendees at their 1998 Annual Conference, credibility regarding access to federal policy makers is evidenced by the attendance of the Prime Minister, eleven cabinet ministers, fifteen senators and 100 MPs and senior public servants (CTC 1998).

In relation to this study, one of the key outputs of the organisation has been the '*Code of Practice and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism*' produced in 1992 in association with the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (TIAC and NRTEE 1992) (this document is discussed in detail in Chapters Five and Eleven).

12.4.1 TIAC – parks agency relations

During the 1960s and 1970s, the CTA was active in lobbying the Parks Branch for increased tourist development within the national parks. For example, in 1970, the CTA called for a study of the benefits of snowmobiles and their uses on national parks (DIAND 1970). Also at that time, the CTA called for extensions to the visitor season in national parks, being critical of parks closing early. They were also critical of barriers to ski development at Banff, and more generally of bureaucratic delays and perceived arbitrary decisions being made with respect to permitting tourism development in parks (DIAND 1970). Over this period, ironically, the National and Historic Parks Branch was actually a paid up member of the CTA.

Funding support for the CTA was also provided by the federal government via the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce. In the 1969/70 financial year, the Department provided \$50,000 to the CTA to help finance its "project hospitality", aimed at improving community awareness of tourism (Dept Industry Trade and Commerce 1970).

In 1970, the CTA evolved into TIAC. With this metamorphosis came administrative and structural changes. The Director of the National and Historic Parks Branch expressed concern

that the federal government was only to be permitted one member on the board, (which comprised forty members), yet the federal government was being asked to pay 20% of the budget for TIAC (National and Historic Parks Branch 1970a). In a letter to the Director General of the Office of Tourism, the Director of the Parks Branch proposed three federal members for the TIAC Board: two from the Canadian Government Office of Tourism (CGOT) and one from the Parks Branch. However, TIAC prevailed, and only one federal representative was to appear on the Board, representing the CGOT. Supposedly the idea of paying an organisation from federal funds to criticise its policies, as TIAC often did, galled the Parks Branch somewhat.

At the time of study, there was one federal representative on the TIAC Board, from the Department of Canadian Heritage. Although the Department of Canadian Heritage is the parent department of Parks Canada, the representative was a Parks Canada employee. All other members are from the tourism industry, either employed in businesses or in provincial, territorial or municipal tourism offices. At the time of study, the Chairman of the Board was John Gow, President of Silver Star Mountain Resorts in British Columbia (TIAC 1995).

12.4.2 TIAC and the national parks

The first overt action from TIAC over the use of national parks came at the 1972 Lake Louise public hearings. TIAC provided a brief in favour of the proposal to further develop the ski area, stating that national parks must be permitted to develop in a total sense in restricted zonal areas (National and Historic Parks Branch 1972). Over the 1970s and through to the 1980s, attacks on national park tourism development policy continued. In another fairly typical example, in 1980, TIAC criticised Parks Canada for attracting tourists but not providing for them: TIAC maintained that there was an obligation to provide commercial facilities and services in national parks (Clarke 1980).

At the 1986 Canadian Assembly on National Parks and Protected Areas, TIAC although recognising that there was significant conflict between tourism and park interests, were unabashedly boosters of greater tourism in national parks. The TIAC representative at the Assembly, justified this approach in terms of the contribution that tourism could make to world peace (a tenuous assertion), and also that townsites and visitor centres in parks could serve as models to instill in people an understanding of the need for fundamental change in communities, to create sustainable human and natural environments: "Visitors (or tourists) should be equipped following their parks 'experience' to return to their communities as 'Ambassadors of a New Age Environmental Ethic'" (D'Amore 1987). To help achieve this vision, TIAC again suggested the need for a "creative conspiracy" between environmental and

tourism interests, noting that the environmental movement had failed to respond to TIAC's previous invitations to establish a permanent liaison (Clarke 1987).

In 1992, after producing the Code of Practice and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism In association with the National Round table on the Environment and the Economy (TIAC and NRTEE 1992), TIAC approached the Canadian Park Service (CPS) seeking funding to assist in the implementation of the Code. The CPS was unable to assist financially because of their budgetary situation, but offered to provide in-kind support to the project through making their facilities available for workshops etc (CPS 1992b). The rejection of financial support for what is seen by TIAC as a significant initiative on their part, was hardly likely to win the CPS any friends at TIAC. In contrast, a 1990 policy document reveals that Tourism Canada undertook to support TIAC in developing an environmental code for the industry, and within the resultant code, Tourism Canada is listed as a sponsor (Tourism Canada 1990).

Recently released TIAC publicity confirms the approach towards national parks that the organisation had been taking since the 1970s. In a 1997 statement on advocacy actions taken by TIAC, it is noted by TIAC that their position is to "Entrench access, use and enjoyment of [national] parks by visitors (TIAC 1997c:1). To this end, TIAC had made a representation to the Department of Canadian Heritage and Parks Canada, and a presentation to the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force. In a 1997 letter to the Minister of Canadian Heritage, the Chairman of TIAC sought to dispel the misconception that to be pro-tourism is to be anti-environment, and reassured the Minister that the tourism industry was a "partner" in sustainability (TIAC 1997:1). Much weight was put on the potential of the Bow Valley Study (commissioned by the Minister) to set precedents for other parks across Canada, and as such, the letter was in effect a plea for a favourable decision by the Minister on the future of tourism in Banff and elsewhere.

TIAC in a similar vein to the ENGOs, has requested greater involvement in the national parks policy process. A recent motivation for this, has been Parks Canada implementing increases to entry fees in national parks in 1994/95. In 1995, TIAC suggested that Parks Canada create a Steering Committee, through which tourism industry operators and leaders in Canada who deliver services within national parks and historic sites could provide "direct input in a meaningful way" (TIAC 1995b:1). The Steering Committee would be mandated to evaluate the need for Parks Canada to generate additional revenue, and to investigate ways that revenue could be raised, including decreasing the expenditure within Parks Canada operations.

12.4.3 TIAC – Canadian Tourism Commission relations

Historically, there has been a close link between TIAC, (and its predecessor the CTA) and Canada's NTO. As far back as 1970, the CTA and the Federal Office of Tourism were co-

sponsoring the first Travel Trade Congress in Canada (Federal Office of Tourism 1970). In 1978 a federal-provincial government – TIAC Advisory Committee was established. This joint committee presents its recommendations to the Conference of Canadian Tourism Officials (comprised of deputy ministers from across Canada), which in turn makes recommendations to the Federal/Provincial Conference of Tourism Ministers (TIAC 1997). Today, there is a substantial connection between the TIAC Board and the CTC Board. In effect, the CTC Board members' representation on the TIAC Board has replaced or diminished the need for the federal representation in TIAC. Illustrative of the breadth of these links, at the time of study: the Chair of TIAC, John Gow, was also Chair of the CTC's Product Committee; TIAC Board member Charles Lapointe sat on both the CTC Board and Executive; the past Vice-Chairman of TIAC, Peter Elmhirst, served on the Board of the CTC and on its Audit Committee; two past TIAC Board members also sat on the CTC Board, one chairing the Audit Committee and the other being an Executive Committee member; TIAC Director Christena Keon-Sirsly was Chair of the Canada Marketing Committee; and TIAC Vice-Chair Jeremy painting and Director Geno Dirrado both sit on the US Committee (TIAC 1995a). The TIAC President acknowledges that they have "a very good senior relationship with the CTC" (CTC 1997e).

As discussed in Chapter Nine, TIAC were instrumental in the establishment of the CTC, describing this as a "critical policy success" for the organisation (TIAC 1996). TIAC had long been critical of the CTC's predecessor, Tourism Canada. Thus, it is not surprising then that TIAC should develop strong links with the CTC - an organisation whose conception and birth they were involved in. Upon the establishment of the CTC, the 1995 TIAC Policy Forum made several recommendations aimed at developing and maintaining a close co-operative relationship between the two organisations. These included, among others, TIAC having input to appointments on the CTC Board and Committees, providing TIAC input into CTC programmes, and establishing a reporting relationship between the CTC and TIAC members. A number of these recommendations have been put into place (TIAC 1995b). The 1997/97 TIAC Statements of Tourism Policy document also includes policy seeking to ensure the accountability of the CTC to the private sector tourism industry, and to assist the CTC in the "development of appropriate programmes" (TIAC 1997b:6). Seemingly "in exchange" for this access, TIAC has pledged in its Statements of Tourism Policy "to help ensure ongoing political and public support of the CTC" (TIAC 1997b:6). TIAC has helped to achieve this through their communications with Ministers, standing committees, Members of Parliament, and the public (TIAC 1996d).

The relationship between Canada's NTO and TIAC appears to have evolved into one where TIAC is assuming a greater responsibility for policy advocacy and also some peripheral

functional responsibilities of the NTO (for example, TIAC is contracted to run “Rendez-Vous Canada”, Canada’s principal travel show, for a five year period from 1998 (CTC 1997e)). The TIAC Chairman describes the relationship between TIAC and CTC as complementary, but with the organisations having different roles: “TIAC is an advocacy organisation dedicated to bringing national tourism issues and policy options to the highest levels and thereby to influence legislative planning. The CTC is Canada’s national and international marketing and product development arm” (CTC 1999:13).

Certainly, historically and recently, there has been much in common between the NTO’s and TIAC’s position on the place of tourism in national parks. In 1995, at a joint Industry Canada-TIAC conference, one resolution to emerge was that “There is too much government control and regulation on labour and the environment” (Industry Canada and TIAC 1995:13). The resolution specifically noted the issue of National Parks regulations on access for tourism development. TIAC in 1996 noted how they and the CTC are working together to develop an action plan to remove barriers to tourism growth (TIAC 1996).

12.4.4 TIAC – environmental group relationships

In terms of TIAC’s relationships with other stakeholders in general, TIAC has adopted a formal policy “to facilitate and co-ordinate amongst industry players and stakeholders” (TIAC 1997b:12). However, there is little documentary evidence of much co-ordination between TIAC and the ENGOs. This may hinge to some extent on whether or not TIAC perceives these groups to be stakeholders within its policy domain.

There is certainly no discernible involvement of any other stakeholders in the development of TIAC policy. The Policy Process of TIAC (TIAC 1997b) clearly states that potential policy subjects will only be received from in-house sources, and that the consultative process for draft policy, is similarly a TIAC member-only process. It is also interesting to note that for policy proposals to be considered for active policy, several criteria must be met. One of these criteria is that policy has economic benefit/impact to Canada’s tourism industry. The criteria do not include specifically any considerations for potential environmental or social impacts of tourism. It should be noted, however, that any policy must not conflict with existing TIAC policy.

12.4.5 Summary of TIAC role and relations

Like the ENGOs, the tourism lobby group TIAC has historically approached its role of defending and promoting its members interests with a certain amount of zeal. This approach

has meant that at times, TIAC has experienced direct conflict with other stakeholders within this domain.

The relationship between the tourism lobby group and the parks agency is not dissimilar on the surface to that between the environmental lobby groups and the parks agency. Like the ENGOs, TIAC is often overtly critical of parks management, but there are significant differences in its modes of action, and in the outcomes of the relationship, especially for the parks agency. TIAC has established an historic pattern of criticism of the parks agency, and in particular its tourism development policy. They have been outstanding long term boosters of national parks tourism.

The relationship with the parks agency is unstructured, and undertaken on an ad-hoc basis through the public consultation process on park management. TIAC is also very access-oriented, compared to the media-oriented approach of CPAWS and the CNF, relying upon direct lobbying at the senior management and ministerial level. Because of historic and personal factors, TIAC appears to be very well connected politically to achieve its lobbying goals at these levels, although the revised protectionist parks policy environment now prevailing may have limited success in this area, particularly over the last decade.

With respect to the ENGOs, TIAC have historically made some overtures to that group to form an alliance. It was found that in practice, however, the values gap between the organisations was just too wide to bridge. This has resulted in an often conflictual relationship being perpetuated. To some extent, TIAC have made efforts bridge this gap with environmental interests (including the parks agency), through, for example its sustainable tourism guidelines initiative.

TIAC's relationship with the NTO has historically been close, with for example, funding support being provided by the NTO's parent department. The evolution of the CTC has witnessed this relationship growing even closer, and more structured than before, with linkages on a number of levels. It appears that TIAC now provides important political support for the CTC, and as a consequence has almost inherited a de-facto role in developing tourism policy, in the absence of this work being undertaken by the NTO. Some more concrete functional responsibilities have also been transferred from the NTO to the lobby group.

Finally, it should be appreciated that access to national parks for tourism is only one of a raft of policy issues that TIAC has on its agenda. With a minimal staff, the degree to which interorganisational relations with other stakeholders in this domain can be developed may be limited.

12.5 Interest group interorganisational relations summary

The rise in power of interest groups has significantly impacted upon the national-park tourism policy domain. From the early 1960s, environmental groups have sought legitimacy within the domain, bringing with them values with respect to the roles of parks and tourism in parks, that diverged widely from established domain members.

However, stakeholder legitimacy has been an issue for environmental groups, and their perceived lack of legitimacy (and therefore power) within the domain has impacted negatively on their trust in the parks agency. Although the parks agency has made institutional arrangements for co-ordinated policy development that have increasingly incorporated the ENGOS, their relationship with the parks agency is still inhibited by the above factors. Generally the linkages with the parks agency lack the *formalisation* and *stability* over time that the ENGOS desire.

There is also the question of legitimacy in the parks agency-ENGO relationship, in that the parks agency are accused of entering into relations for the purpose of generating an image of consultation, or pacifying the ENGOS: policy proposals resulting from the interaction with ENGOS remain unimplemented. Although the ENGOS have consistently sought greater formalisation, stability and intensity of linkages with the parks agency, their inability to realise these gains has led the ENGOS to increasingly seek modes of achieving their goals that involving interaction with parties or processes outside of the domain e.g media-oriented approaches, and litigation.

The two ENGOS in this study have a relationship with a high degree of intensity. Facilitating factors in this relationship are a coincidence of values, a positive mutual awareness and trust, along with recognition of their interdependence. Both organisations are small in terms of professional staff, and rely heavily upon an uncertain resource base of membership, donations and volunteer work. This scarcity of resources has led to a reciprocal relationship characterised by a number of shared undertakings in terms of policy input and legal actions. The issue of scarce organisational resources has, however, acted as an inhibiting factor in the ENGO relationship with other domain members such as the parks agency – simply in terms of being able to fund the requisite intensity of linkage in order for the relationship to be effective.

The ENGO relationship with tourism interests has been minimal, or unstable with undeveloped linkages. Intermittently, attempts have been made by TIAC to formalise a relationship with the ENGOS, but the latter group has considered that there is not an adequate coincidence of values to warrant investing scarce organisational resources into the

relationship. Moments of conflict have resulted in there being a lack of mutual awareness and trust between the groups. Attempts on the part of tourism interests to establish links with environmental interests may be linked to the contingency of legitimacy, in that formalising the relationship may grant tourism interests increased legitimacy in a domain in which environmental interests have increasingly demonstrated their power.

The relationship between TIAC and the NTO has become increasingly formalised, particularly since the creation of the CTC. Considering that TIAC were instrumental in the creation of the CTC, there is a high coincidence of values between the organisations. Their linkage is formalised through the substantial input of TIAC members into the CTC Board and committees. Also, TIAC appears to have assumed some of the policy advocacy and functional roles that were previously held by the NTO under the structure prior to the formation of the CTC.

The TIAC relationship with the parks agency has been typically low in intensity, and since about 1970, with minimal formalisation. One factor contributing to this has been that typically, TIAC and related tourism interests, because of their traditionally high level of political support, have been effective in achieving their goals through access-oriented actions. In a similar manner to the ENGOs, this has involved people or processes that may be outside of the established pathways of interorganisational relations existing in the domain. Thus the value of co-operation with other domain members has not been immediately apparent.

The next chapter will consider the nature of the contemporary relationships of the interest groups in this domain, as revealed by interviews conducted with individuals currently participating in the relationships.

Chapter 13: Interest group relationships

13.1 Current relationships revealed through perceptions of participants

This chapter examines the perceptions of personnel currently involved in relationships among the three interest groups in this study, and between these groups and the key stakeholders – the parks agency and the national tourism organisation. The nature of the current relationships among these stakeholders was revealed through an analysis of interviews undertaken with active participants in the relationships. Interview material indicated that many of the factors listed in the previous chapter's examination of the Parks Canada – Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) relationship are also relevant to the interest groups, but for the sake of brevity will not be reiterated here in full, unless essential. An analysis of interview material also revealed that both Environmental Non Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) formed quite similar relationships with the other organisations in this study. Thus for the sake of convenience of analysis, the Canadian Nature Federation (CNF) and Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) relationships with other organisations are examined together rather than separately.

13.2 The Parks Canada – ENGO relationship (from the Parks Canada perspective)

Knowledge among participants of the extent of the Parks Canada - ENGO relationship was variable but generally limited. Most informants within Parks Canada had little contact with ENGOS, or limited knowledge of the extent of the contact, and thus did not rate the relationship highly in terms of overall importance to the organisation. This contrasted with informants from the ENGOS, who saw the nature of the relationship with Parks Canada as being one of the key parts of their work.

One of the formal mechanisms of the relationship was reported to be the Canadian Parks Partnership, which is a mechanism whereby Parks Canada raises funds for parks and sites through corporate sponsorship and the support of other organisations. This, however is not an institutional arrangement for policy interaction.

Most of the contact between the organisations is through management planning and field unit work, with some contact with other parts of Parks Canada such as the Protected Areas Co-operation Branch (Parks Canada interview 5). The National Parks Directorate also has some contact with ENGOS (Parks Canada interview 8). Further to this, Parks Canada has worked

co-operatively with one of the ENGOS (CNF) in the area of heritage presentation and education (Parks Canada interview 8).

At the time of study there were no apparent mechanisms for involving ENGOS in a recognised forum for Parks Canada policy at the national level. With the proposal to make Parks Canada a Special Operating Agency, there was some concern within the organisation over how to make the Agency publicly accountable, and which stimulated discussion about a stakeholder forum of some kind (Parks Canada interview 6). If that idea had come to fruition, it would have formalised the contact between Parks Canada and some ENGOS. However, in the absence of such a forum, the newly created External Relations Branch was expected to play a guiding role in the ENGO relationship and to facilitate the relationship (Parks Canada interview 7; Parks Canada interview 8). But, it appears that developing relations with the ENGOS may not have been a priority for the Branch, considering that although the External Relations Branch had been running for some months at the time of this study, there had been no initiative to meet with representatives from ENGOS; the only reported contact had been with tourism stakeholders (Parks Canada interview 8).

Currently, however, there is a perception among some Parks Canada staff that ENGOS such as CNF and CPAWS are well placed to influence the Parks Canada bureaucracy as well as the relevant politicians, through existing informal, personal networks (Parks Canada interview 6).

That the relationship with ENGOS is mostly issue-based and intermittent, rather than more formally structured is significant. A Senior Environmental Biologist with Parks Canada, formerly involved in management planning, describes the Parks Canada - ENGO relationship as basically positive, but sporadic, based around the management planning process. For example, he talks about a management planning exercise that he was involved with for a park in northern Canada.:

We were scoping out how we were going to do the management plan. We were looking at the whole district and groups that we have to consult in the preparation of the plan. And asking the [park] superintendent what are the relationships now with these groups, and he said 'No we haven't talked to them since the last management plan'! (Parks Canada interview 2).

This participant notes that by comparison, Parks Canada was probably more involved in relationships with tourism interests than with ENGOS, there being ongoing communication with tourism business groups in the town sites in the parks: these groups tend to "talk really loudly" (Parks Canada interview 2). However, he perceives that the relationship with national ENGOS has grown recently, and was less talked about five years ago than it is now. In some parks at least, there is ongoing communication with ENGOS: the Superintendent of Banff National Park reports monthly meetings with ENGOS, and notes that ENGOS are represented

on the implementation committee for the Banff National Park Management Plan, as well as the Bow valley Round Table (Parks Canada interview 9).¹⁰² Some ENGOs are represented more strongly at the park level than others - for example, CPAWS has a strong involvement with Banff, whereas CNF is less Banff focused and is not represented on advisory groups.

One consequence of the contact between Parks Canada and ENGOs being usually issue-dependent is that it is likely to be more conflictual than otherwise, considering the ENGOs advocacy role. Indeed, the greatest obstacle to the relationship between Parks Canada and CPAWS was reported to be substantial differences in opinion over certain issues. One longstanding example of this is ski area expansion, where a certain “policy tension” exists - by contrast, in the more recently established national parks, and on other issues, there is not the same tension (Parks Canada interview 9). This participant, as a senior staff member at Banff National Park, was involved in the park’s management planning process, and perceived, however, that the extreme positions historically adopted by both the tourism industry and the ENGOs are seen less today: “...we’re out of the morass of the debate now” (Parks Canada interview 9). Recent policy directions, as indicated for example by the Banff Management Plan, have helped, by more or less “drawing a line in the sand” with respect to tourism development (Parks Canada interview 9).

One participant believes that informal changes to the management planning processes of Parks Canada have effected the relationship with ENGOs. They comment that with fewer resources to undertake management planning, there was a period when plans had become more strategic, “to get them through the bureaucracy faster” (Parks Canada interview 2). In these management planning processes mentioned above, the participant notes that CPAWS were quite “aggressive” about Parks Canada setting some firm targets for limits of acceptable change.¹⁰³ This aggressive response may have arisen because of the perception that management plans were becoming less meaningful documents, and that the process itself, although remaining consultative was not perceived to be consultative in the true sense of the word: i.e. stakeholder values were not being incorporated into the management plans. Comments from some ENGO staff support this, being critical of the Parks Canada public input processes, claiming that these are often exercises in public relations that quite often do not have anything to do with output (ENGO interview 1). The most recent trend in management planning has been for plans to become more detailed, with Banff’s management plan, for example, including such detail as the setting of water quality parameters (Parks Canada interview 2).

The relationship however, is complex and sophisticated. It is complex in that Parks Canada is a large organisation, and as demonstrated previously, its staff reveal a range of positions in the

¹⁰² CPAWS is on the Round Table, representing national ENGOs.

parks preservation/use debate – one of the key advocacy issues for the ENGOS – and subsequently, a range of attitudes towards the ENGOS themselves. It is sophisticated, at least on the part of the ENGOS, in that the ENGOS will target their communication within the organisation: they know the Parks Canada organisation well enough to know who to trust and who not to trust. For example, “...the CNF, they will find out who is going which way in the organisation, a few phone calls...and write a letter to the Minister based on what they already know part of the organisation is saying. Rather than coming in as a dog in a manger or just shooting blindly, they find their allies within the organisation” (Parks Canada interview 2).

There is a desire on the part of Parks Canada to co-operate and consult with stakeholders, and within the organisation, there are those who appreciate the role played by ENGOS. A parks informant notes that there is a co-operative relationship with ENGOS, and that they play an important “watchdog role to keep us on the straight and narrow” (Parks Canada interview 8). That the ENGOS can also be important allies is also recognised. Referring to this role, one informant, although classifying Canadian ENGOS as weaker than their American counterparts, admits that “without ENGOS we’d be in deep trouble” (Parks Canada interview 1).

13.2.1 The PC-ENGOS relationship from the ENGOS perspective

Although the two ENGOS in this study often work co-operatively (refer to Chapter Twelve), which includes pooling resources on occasion, they do have separate identities and characteristics. CPAWS is more of a public advocacy type of organisation, whereas CNF membership draws more on the ‘naturalist’ type of person – those with either a professional or hobby interest in nature (ENGOS interview 1). Although CNF is a larger organisation with a bigger membership, they acknowledge that they have fewer people working on parks issues than CPAWS (ENGOS interview 2). However, both have a lot in common in terms of their modes of action, and in the nature of the relationships in which they are involved.

The CPAWS-Parks Canada relationship is intricate, being maintained through many points of contact, from the Deputy Minister down to the field units. However, CPAWS has a very decentralised structure, with great emphasis placed on its “chapters” or regional branches. Hundreds of volunteers meet several times a week with regional offices, park superintendents and park wardens. The relationship is therefore maintained primarily at the field unit or regional level. But even though “Most of the action is in the provinces”, at the time of study, the CPAWS Board obviously realise the value of relations at the federal level, and were considering relocating from Toronto, site of the present national office, to Hull (Ottawa), to enable more effective federal lobbying (ENGOS interview 3).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Limits of Acceptable Change is one visitor management planning technique used by Parks Canada.

¹⁰⁴ The move took place in 1999.

CNF has a different structure to CPAWS, with no such branches, but instead a large number of affiliated groups. And although the point of contact with Parks Canada is dependent on the particular issue, CNF does have a focus on the creation of new national parks, and consequently, Ottawa is an important point of contact (ENGO interview 2). CNF has its national office in Ottawa.

13.2.2 Resources a key issue in the relationship

As we have seen, CPAWS is very much a volunteer based organisation, with less than six paid staff in the national office, and a similar number in the chapters across the country. The national office handles mostly membership administration, with only 1.5 staff working on conservation issues. Most of the work on park policy and planning is undertaken by the chapters. Volunteers in the chapters donate about a million dollars worth of time each year (ENGO interview 3). CNF employs about 16-18 paid staff (ENGO interview 2), although only a small portion work specifically on park issues.

Both the CNF and CPAWS historically received grants from the federal government through Parks Canada “in the days when government departments did that” (ENGO interview 1). CNF received an annual federal grant from the Department for the Environment, Parks Canada’s parent department until 1993. This amounted to approximately 0.5% of CNF’s annual budget.¹⁰⁵ The federal grant to CPAWS by Parks Canada was withdrawn by the Department of Canadian Heritage in 1996.

One ENGO member (ENGO interview 2) notes how in the 1970s, because of the NPPAC’s stance on a certain management issue, a Parks Canada employee threatened the NPPAC with the loss of the grant, in the midst of some contentious issue concerning St Lawrence Islands National Park. However, generally Parks Canada had been well-disposed towards the NPPAC grant, especially as the money was earmarked and put towards the publication of “Park News” (ENGO interview 2). However, the grants have now gone. The amount received by CPAWS was \$15,000 per annum and was “critical” for that organisation (ENGO interview 2). In the context of only having 1.5 paid staff to work on conservation issues at the national office, this grant could indeed be seen to be critical in terms of CPAWS advocacy output - and significant in terms of maintaining relationships with organisations such as Parks Canada. An ENGO informant acknowledges that although CPAWS has a representative on every Parks Canada consultation across Canada, resourcing the relationship at this level is an issue (ENGO interview 3).

¹⁰⁵ Note that approximately 3% of the CNF budget comes from government contracts - unfortunately the source did not elucidate if any of these contracts were commissioned by the federal government or Parks Canada (CNF 1998).

Receiving government funding is a complex issue, as the ENGOs obviously benefit in terms of being able to resource their campaigns, but to what extent are they simultaneously hamstrung through their reliance on the continued goodwill of government? Paehlke (2000) highlights the dependence of Canadian ENGOs on government-based funding sources, believing that this has impacted negatively upon their effectiveness. Similarly, Wood (1999) explains how the Ecotourism Society, an American NGO, is not eligible for funding from the United States government, but that this has been seen as an advantage in that funding agencies have not been able to define the Society's agenda, thus allowing it to remain a highly independent voice. However, generally, the federal grants involved are quite small, and Wilson (1992:114) considers that they are not likely to lead to "co-optation" of interests.

13.2.3 An intermittent relationship

Because of the multi-sited nature of the relationship with Parks Canada, informants (based within the national offices) have difficulties generalising about the relationship: "I'm not sure how you quantify the organisational or institutional relationship - that comes and goes with the issues of the day"(ENGO interview 1).

This statement from a CPAWS Board Member supports above comments made by Parks Canada employees regarding the importance of the park or field-unit level of contact. At the time of study there were no regular formalised meetings between the ENGOs and Parks Canada at the national level. Despite the relative effectiveness of CPAWS' grassroots-based relationship with Parks Canada, at least in terms of CPAWS achieving their objectives, CPAWS expressed a strong desire for a more formalised relationship (ENGO interview 3).

13.2.4 Mutual respect

Despite concerns of the ENGOs about the lack of a formalised relationship, and despite ongoing conflict over certain contentious issues, often involving tourism development in national parks, comments made by ENGO staff indicate that a certain positive mutual awareness exists between the organisations: "If you talk to the individual people working within Parks Canada and within CPAWS, I think that there has been a great deal of mutual respect for what they are doing" (ENGO interview 1).

For example, the point is made that Parks Canada *do* still *seek out* CPAWS for input into their park planning processes. CPAWS attributes this to the quality of the input that they provide to these processes "rather than just trying to bash the system every time" (ENGO interview 1). And from the CPAWS perspective, they prefer dealing with Parks Canada than with their

provincial counterparts - organisations where the ecological integrity of parks is not always prioritised, and parks are run under the multiple-use principle: "...its hard to see the federal parks department in anything but comparatively a wonderful light" (ENGO interview 1).¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the CNF characterise relations with Parks Canada as being generally good (ENGO interview 2). This is probably due to the organisations, at least in recent times, having fewer issues to disagree over, primarily because changes in parks legislation and policy have placed greater emphasis on ecological integrity at the expense of tourism development.

13.2.5 The ENGO's perception of Parks Canada tourism activities

Despite the above mutual appreciation, ENGOs do have a problem with what they see as a failure on Parks Canada's part, to define their relationship with tourism (for example the lack of a "tourism policy" (ENGO interview 2)), and have difficulty reconciling Parks Canada's past and current marketing efforts with their preservation mandate. For example, an ENGO participant perceived that during the period when the Socio-Economic Division existed, Parks Canada simply took the approach of "lets market ourselves", rather than dealing with the whole issue of tourism in parks. This was a period when Parks Canada attempted to market parks "like they were selling automobiles" (ENGO interview 2). And there is still the perception that parks are being marketed aggressively by Parks Canada: an ENGO informant describes current Parks Canada activities in marketing as being like "Gangbusters in Europe" (ENGO interview 3). That this perception should remain today is ironic considering the recently more restrictive policies for tourism development in parks. It is also of interest, considering what Parks Canada describes as significant conceptual changes to the way that the organisation approaches the promotion of its parks and sites.

ENGOs do acknowledge a positive change in policy and practice on the part of Parks Canada, but point out that although the days of large scale development in parks may be over, development is still occurring in an incremental fashion, and is still of concern (ENGO interview 2). It is so much of a concern, in fact, that ENGOs have taken Parks Canada to court concerning some development proposals. For example CPAWS have pursued legal action concerning the federal government's approval of an expansion of the Sunshine Village ski area in Banff National Park. This lengthy case (described in Chapter Seven) is considered to be a turning point in the way ENGOs in Canada approach the issue of tourism development in parks. It may also perhaps be considered a turning point in the relationship between the ENGOs and Parks Canada in that it reinforces the point that ENGOs will resort to litigation in their arsenal of tactics to achieve desired outcomes in national parks, when co-operative approaches fail them.

¹⁰⁶ For example, logging is an issue in Algonquin Provincial Park in Ontario, and geological exploration is an issue in Alberta's Provincial Parks (ENGO interview 1).

13.2.6 A break in the ranks?

A highly placed CPAWS participant believes that there are many people in Parks Canada who support CPAWS in their stand on the Sunshine issue (ENGO interview 1). This ties in with another ENGO informant's assertion that there are differences within Parks Canada in attitudes towards the role of tourism in parks - and that, for example, junior staff are sympathetic to CNF issues, but senior staff are not. He notes how in the past, some parts of Parks Canada have felt the main use of marketing in that organisation should be to "demarket" areas (ENGO interview 2).¹⁰⁷ As noted above by a Parks Canada staff member, the ENGOs tend to exploit these differences whenever possible. One must also consider that many Parks Canada employees are CPAWS members (ENGO interview 3). It is also apparent that some Parks Canada employees are a valuable source of information to ENGOs, and that 'the role of the mole' within the organisation is a significant (but peripheral) aspect of the informal and hidden component of the ENGO-parks agency relationship.

13.2.7 Criticism of inadequate consultation

As mentioned above, Parks Canada does come in for criticism regarding its consultation with stakeholders. Although Parks Canada prides itself on its consultation with stakeholders, it is described as "insular" by the president of the CNF (ENGO interview 2). ENGOs perceive that Parks Canada places a low priority on the relationship with them. Instead, in order of importance, emphasis is placed on relationships with the Provinces (and Territories), then Aboriginals, then with tourism interests, then ENGOs (ENGO interview 2). This is perceived to be a consequence of Parks Canada attitude, rather than being due to other factors such as lack of resources (ENGO interview 2). As well as being placed at the bottom of the list for consultation, ENGOs find that consultations are rushed, yet decisions leading from consultations are delayed. These "unnecessary delays" are seen to be hindering the relationship with Parks Canada (ENGO interview 3).

Coupled with these concerns is the fear that science is not adequately represented in policy formation and management planning. With the recent Banff-Bow Valley Study, a transition in ENGO arguments from those based on morals and values to those based on "good science" is identified (ENGO interview 2). Unfortunately, despite this transition on the part of the ENGOs, there is a perception that Parks Canada lacks commitment to science in its decision making - and that decision making is consequently all too often politically motivated (ENGO

¹⁰⁷ This links with the previously discussed (Chapter Eleven) 'division' between those staff with an ecology background ('junior' staff) and those with generic skills ('senior' staff), and the lack of representation of science at the higher decision-making levels.

interview 3). Indeed, this perspective is shared by some Parks Canada participants (e.g. Parks Canada interview 1).

13.2.8 ENGOS and the Agency proposal

Related to the issue of consultation is the Parks Canada Agency proposal that was topical at the time of this study. ENGOS were critical of the proposal, saying that it is thin on details but thick on rhetoric, and that it is not clear how the agency would be accountable to the Canadian public (ENGO interview 1). Both CNF and CPAWS have asked for a public advisory body to be part of the new agency and although this received a lukewarm response from Parks Canada, the Minister of Canadian Heritage was apparently supportive of the proposal in principle, but was reluctant to commit in a formalised way. The CPAWS Board consequently passed a resolution to withdraw support for the new agency if the advisory board did not eventuate (ENGO interview 3).¹⁰⁸ This stand-off conflicts with Parks Canada's perceptions that going to an agency structure would enhance relations with ENGOS.

13.2.9 Other factors – the federal-provincial issue

There is a level of frustration with Parks Canada, or rather with the complex federal-provincial dynamic that leads to decisions that seem to be “bowing to the provinces” (ENGO interview 3). An example of this has been the decision to allow the Cheviot Mine to proceed on the boundary with Jasper National Park. Hence in the context of the relationship between the organisations, it would appear that the inability of one partner in the relationship (Parks Canada) to bring resources (i.e. political/legislative power) to bear to benefit the other partner (the ENGOS), is an inhibiting factor. In a relationship based upon exchange, the resource of ‘power’ or ‘authority’ is extremely valuable. The ENGOS talk of the need for Parks Canada to be ‘empowered’, which would presumably benefit the relationship between the organisations.

13.2.10 The power of personalities

As outlined above, the ENGOS are small organisations, with a limited roll of staff involved in maintaining the contact with other organisations - at least at the national level. An ENGO participant acknowledges that personality is important in the relationship with Parks Canada, because of the low staff numbers involved (ENGO interview 2). CPAWS have also found that the level of trust in Parks Canada is site specific, and that this can be related to particular personalities - for example, the relationship with Parks Canada in the prairies parks became strained after one particular superintendent was removed (ENGO interview 3).

The role of personality is thus highly significant in terms of the interorganisational relationship between ENGOs and the parks agency. This is particularly the case when there is a very small 'negotiating team' on the part of the ENGOs. Also it must be considered that ENGO members at the forefront of relationships may not be subject to the same norms/standards of behaviour or professionalism (in the way they interact with other individuals) that may apply to more formalised organisations.

13.2.11 Professional backgrounds

While senior parks management may be intent upon developing greater relations with tourism interests, and general staff may be less enthusiastic, it would appear that the opposite applies for Parks Canada sympathy with ENGO concerns. The President of the Canadian Nature Federation (CNF) believes that junior staff are sympathetic with CNF issues, but senior staff are not. This observation would fit in well with the theory that groups with similar professional backgrounds tend to have a coincidence of values. Although undocumented, many CNF staff, and most ENGO staff and members are likely to have a natural science background similar to the 'junior' Parks Canada staff.

13.3 The ENGO – Canadian Tourism Commission relationship

The relationship between the ENGOs and the CTC is relatively easy to describe, because of its restricted nature. The CNF-CTC relationship is in fact described as "non-existent" by the President of CNF (ENGO interview 2). The CPAWS President confirms that there is no contact between CPAWS and the CTC, at least at the national level, but there may have been some contact with CTC over the Banff-Bow Valley study (ENGO interview 3). CPAWS acknowledge that they do have contact with the tourism industry in general on a number of stakeholder issues. Similarly, the CNF does not have national contact with the tourism industry, but through its provincial affiliates and various conservation programmes it does have contact with some tourism groups, in organising tours and other activities.

An undeveloped relationship is confirmed by CTC staff, who report no contact with ENGOs. There is no representation of ENGOs on the Board or any of the committees of the CTC. In fact there is only one NGO represented, and that is Heritage Canada, a non-profit, historic trust, which is represented on the Industry and Product Development Committee (CTC interview 4).

¹⁰⁸ At the time of the study, CPAWS and CNF were very interested in the NZ model of the NZ Conservation Authority, and requested information from the writer concerning details of that body.

CPAWS question the value of developing a relationship with the tourism industry. When asked whether they saw any benefit in being involved in developing a national tourism strategy, one participant questioned CPAWS involvement, believing that CPAWS works more effectively on site specific issues (ENGO interview 3). With regard to a potential collaborative approach to the issue of tourism in parks, a CPAWS Board Member commented, "I really don't think that it would go anywhere" (ENGO interview 1). These statements would seem to indicate that CPAWS doesn't really perceive any value in co-operating with the CTC. However, CPAWS staff note that if their proposal for an advisory board to the Parks Canada Agency goes ahead, then this would facilitate relations with the tourism industry, as presumably they (the tourism industry) would have a seat (ENGO interview 1).

This lack of a will to co-operate with the tourism industry is due to a perceived gulf in values between the organisations, and reinforced by negative experiences of interacting with tourism interests. Although ENGOs can see the benefits of certain types of tourism in national parks, for example the role of ecotourism in granting some economic value to conservation of wild areas, they are still wary of the motives and level of environmental commitment of some tourism promoters (ENGO interview 1).

Both CPAWS and CNF's operating policies confirm that they will work with anyone who is working toward the same goals - for example, the ENGOs often work together, but as one CPAWS board member describes: "between those two groups [tourism and ENGOs], I would say the overlap, the common ground is probably the minority of the time... my suspicion is that now there would probably be more caution on the part of the ENGOs in forming any kind of permanent type of alliance with tourism promoters, but on specific issues I could certainly see it happening" (ENGO interview 1).

13.4 Relationship between ENGOs and the Tourism Industry Association of Canada

What is the nature of the relationship between the tourism lobby group, TIAC, and the ENGOs? On the surface, this may potentially be a difficult relationship to form and maintain, because of the widely different values held by the organisations with respect to the important issue of the role of tourism in protected areas. As discussed in the Chapter Twelve, the ENGOs see the need for limiting tourism in some national parks, whereas TIAC is a strong proponent of tourism in parks. But recently TIAC have been promoting sustainable tourism, and played a key role in the production and dissemination of the "Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism" (TIAC and NRTEE 1992).

The President of TIAC, commented that the motivation for developing the Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism was because there is a lot of negative feeling about tourism in the environmental community, and because of the misinformation or stereotyping of what tourism is (TIAC interview 1). TIAC took a proactive position and articulated some basic frameworks on what it means to be ethical or responsible in terms of tourism development. The approach of TIAC has been that “wilderness is the equity of tourism, and to destroy those things is to destroy our equity...to put it crudely, its bad business to pee in your own hat” (TIAC interview 1). An informant describes how TIAC has worked hard as an association and with its industry members and its provincial councils to increase the understanding in public that it does have an environmental sensitivity (TIAC interview 1).

The extent to which TIAC has managed to persuade the ENGOs of its good intentions is, however, uncertain. ENGO staff comment that they are wary of the term “sustainable tourism”, and feel that there has been inadequate dialogue on its meaning (ENGO interview 2). Rather, they make the case for the primacy of sustaining natural values, putting limits on tourism and believe that in some parks, such as Banff, tourism at its current level is not sustainable (ENGO interview 3).

As a consequence, and as mentioned above, it seems unlikely that ENGOs would be convinced enough of the tourism industry’s motives to want to enter into any formal alliance or collaborative venture with the industry or its representative, TIAC. And although the ENGOs report little contact with TIAC there is this stigma attached to TIAC in terms of its motives, from the ENGO perspective. TIAC, finds this frustrating, in terms of trying to achieve consensus on fundamental things:

I think that they think we are motels in the wilderness, taking paradise and putting up a parking lot, and opening up a motel... The environmentalists who always are polarising the issues are probably doing more harm than good in terms of [not] allowing a reasonable dialogue to happen... there is not a lot of trust between the two groups. Discussion has become unhelpful, its been a question of screaming and not listening (TIAC interview 1).

And although the will to co-operate is apparent in TIAC, as obviously this may contribute to TIAC’s efforts to raise its environmental profile, it appears that their patience is wearing thin.

A TIAC informant is cynical of the views held by environmentalists, describing their attitude as:

...keep it so pristine that nobody can experience an outdoor product like mine and me [sic] because I'm the only one good enough who can understand it enough... the lock it up but never lock it up to the point that the person who is proposing it can't go and experience it... there has to be a place where you will allow that people should come, should experience, should enjoy, should learn to love first hand the things that we are fighting to preserve... if we have ownership, which we do with paintings and with national parks, provincial parks, then we should also have the right to experience them (TIAC interview 1).

Clearly the divergence of opinions on the role of tourism in parks is so great between the groups that it prevents the groups from seeing each other in a positive light, and reduces any level of trust that may have existed:

...we yell at each other, and then we go back to our offices and say, "Jesus Christ, bloody environmentalists". So there's not a lot of warmth there. Which I find unfortunate because we're not disagreeing from my point of view - they just can't see me and who I represent as anything but a problem (TIAC interview 1).

From the ENGO perspective, however, values may not be the only factor playing on this relationship - personality is also definitely an issue in maintaining the relationship between CNF and TIAC. AN ENGO participant contrasts the current Presidency, with the previous TIAC Presidency of Gary Clarke (ENGO interview 2). They describe Clarke as a person who was interested in conservation issues, citing examples of when Clarke spoke for limitation of growth at Banff, in the mid 1980s, and how he was instrumental in bringing tourism interests to bear in the formation of the Gwaii-Haanas National Park in 1988 (ENGO interview 2). The implication is that in the past there was an element of trust between TIAC and CNF, or at least more so than the present level, that is prevented today by personal factors. Whether or not this is a rosy interpretation of the past is a difficult question. In a previous section, it was noted that as previous TIAC President, Clarke issued an invitation to ENGOS to work together in a formalised way over the issue of tourism in national parks. The invitation was *not* taken up by the ENGOS because they perceived a values gap too wide to bridge; this evoked criticism of the ENGOS from TIAC (Clarke 1980; Henderson 1980).

Is the limiting factor in the current relationship the difference in values between the parties, or a personality clash? Or is the difference in values so great that this creates a negative interpretation of the personality of the other party? Considering that even when TIAC was under the leadership of someone who was considered to be approachable by the ENGOS, a relationship did not form, even after the conscious efforts of one party, one must conclude that values are the predominant factor. This appears to be exacerbated by certain intractable personalities within both organisations. It is acknowledged that there "are many people within

ENGOS who have problems regarding compromises with interests such as tourism” (ENGO interview 2), indicating that perhaps the personality problems are not only an issue for TIAC.

Communication issues are exacerbated by individuals within the two organisations having quite different professional backgrounds. Although Parks Canada and the CTC and TIAC have some staff with professional background/expertise in common, this is not the case with the ENGOS and tourism interests. The Superintendent of Banff National Park for example, notes that the Tourism Manager for Parks Canada at Banff is involved with the local tourism Bureau, however, there is no input from ENGOS such as the CNF into this forum, because of the potential problem with the “vocabulary of the groups involved” (Parks Canada interview 9).

The overall result has been that the organisations have little to do with one another. For example, a TIAC informant emphatically notes that TIAC staff do not attend ENGO conferences, and that ENGO people do not attend TIAC conferences. And TIAC, although consulting “a whole bunch of people” did not involve any ENGOS in its consultation over the formulation of its Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism (TIAC interview 1). Creating the Code of Ethics could conceivably have offered a useful opportunity for collaboration between these disparate interests.

13.5 Parks Canada - Tourism Industry Association of Canada relationship

TIAC sees this relationship as being quite important, in the spectrum of interorganisational relationships that it maintains (TIAC interview 1). Yet responses from Parks Canada vary: some within the organisation recognising the potential value of relations with TIAC, but most informants appearing to place no great weight on the relationship. For example, even a participant from the Heritage Tourism Secretariat, when asked about the relationship with TIAC, observed that TIAC’s role, and therefore their importance for Parks Canada, was now questionable with the creation of the CTC: she observed that “they seem to have survived” (Parks Canada interview 3). However, a senior staff member with the External Relations Branch at Parks Canada ranks TIAC as the second most important organisation that Parks Canada works with, after the CTC (Parks Canada interview 8). He also rates the level of the relationship as a “four out of five” on a purely subjective scale.

This varied view, held by Parks Canada staff, of the value of the relationship, may be linked to the fact that contact between Parks Canada and TIAC is not easily observable. This relates to the access-oriented approach used by TIAC in lobbying senior staff and political figures

‘behind closed doors’. The perceived lack of value in the relationship may also reflect a lack of knowledge, on the part of the parks agency participants, of the role of TIAC, and their degree of inter-connectedness with the CTC and the tourism industry as a whole.

There appears to be no formalised relationship between the organisations with respect to regular meetings or involvement in consultative processes, although the relationship appears to be functioning in an amicable manner. Parks Canada perceive that their image in the eyes of TIAC has improved following the intense promotion of new parks user fees to the tourism industry.¹⁰⁹

At what level is contact between the organisations maintained? Recently (1996), TIAC were invited to participate in discussions on the Parks Canada Agency proposals but did not attend. However, TIAC will initiate contact with Parks Canada staff when they consider it necessary to do so: “If TIAC want to get to the Minister, they will phone me and use me for information” (Parks Canada interview 3). Another Parks Canada employee referred to TIAC as a “closed door organisation”, one that doesn’t act overtly, but has the ability to get to the Minister of Heritage (Parks Canada interview 1). This perception is certainly confirmed by comments made by a senior staff member at TIAC, who outlines TIAC’s lobbying approach:

I just use senior bureaucratic levels...its just a matter of calling someone and asking ‘What’s going on with...’. And then you just start the whole process of convincing them in any way that you can that you’re right, and by doing what I want them to do will not only benefit tourism but will benefit Canada and will therefore get them re-elected. [We] appear before Select Committees, have sort of off-the-record but ongoing conversations with people who I know (TIAC interview 1).

Although considering the TIAC relationship important, Parks Canada (Parks Canada interview 8) admit that no formal relationship exists. However, one forum that Parks Canada has had contact with TIAC through recently, is the committee to revise Rendezvous Canada, a national trade show now under the auspices of TIAC.

A potential point of contact for the two organisations could have been over the production of TIAC’s Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism – a document with the capability of influencing tourism operations in national parks. However, as noted in an earlier chapter, the preparation of the Code was an event that seemed to pass by barely noticed by Parks Canada:

¹⁰⁹ Note that this follows from a previous change to parks user fees by Parks Canada in the early 1990s, which led to widespread condemnation from tourism operators in parks, because of the lack of prior warning and lead in time (CTC interview 4).

We received the documents and were asked to comment...I don't think we were as actively involved as we would be now - part of the philosophy then was that Parks did not do tourism, and if tourism wanted to do it [the Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism] then that's fine, we would provide some comments to ensure that bases were basically covered but it was more of a more reactive thing. Now we would probably be much more proactive, in the sense of 'lets shape this' (Parks Canada interview 6).

It is noted, however, that the previous marketing group (SED) of Parks Canada provided some input to the Code of Ethics and Guidelines. A parks participant recalls providing comment on numerous drafts, but notes that his view at the time that it was "pretty generic stuff...its fine to write all these things down, but without any sort of accountability or check mechanism, its just somebody else's list of wishful things that we or business should be doing" (Parks Canada interview 5). ¹¹⁰ In favour of TIAC, however, is the adoption of their Guidelines in the recommendations of the influential Banff-Bow Valley Study, which has given the Guidelines some credibility (BBVTF 1996). To add insult to injury, upon completion of the Code of Ethics and Guidelines, the CPS were asked how they could contribute tangibly to their implementation: the CPS replied that their budgetary situation did not permit them to offer direct financial assistance, however they were prepared to offer in-kind support, for example providing access to meeting facilities, for the workshops that were planned as part of the implementation strategy (CPS 1992b).

13.5.1 Lack of mutual awareness

It appears that one obstacle to the Parks Canada -TIAC relationship is perhaps a lack of positive mutual awareness. Parks staff perceive that TIAC are very much a lobby group, with perhaps less understanding of parks than is necessary to appreciate Parks Canada's role (Parks Canada interview 8). On the other hand, TIAC "probably perceives us [Parks Canada] as regulatory agency rather than a tourism supplier" (Parks Canada interview 8).

From the TIAC perspective, there is a recognition that Parks Canada has a difficult job to do in terms of its dual mandate (TIAC interview 1). TIAC however, fails to acknowledge that ecological integrity has been enshrined through legislation as the guiding principle for park management. TIAC are very critical of current Parks Canada work concerning the Banff Bow Valley. They argue that Banff National Park was created by the CPR to make money from tourism, and that's also why the Trans Canada Highway was put through the park. They argue that you can't reasonably shift emphasis "midstream" (TIAC interview 1). They are also suspicious of the Banff Bow Valley study (BBVTF 1996), which looks at options for the future of this highly visited area and town site within Banff national park:

¹¹⁰ When asked what would stop the Parks Canada Sustainable Development Strategy from being a similar vacuous document, this participant had "no idea" (Parks Canada, interview5).

I think quite frankly the fix was in from the beginning...the study was deeply flawed in its assumptions. It assumed you know that this is all bad and how can we make it better? It assumed that tourism and environmental concerns are necessarily mutually exclusive... When you look at the rhetoric around the recommendations... the tone of voice of it, it is very anti-development, very anti-township (TIAC interview 1).

TIAC are very critical of the Minister of Canadian Heritage regarding her related decision to reverse a previously approved 850,000 square foot commercial development in Banff township. A TIAC participant believes that this decision was politically driven, to give Canadians outside the area, who don't understand the issues, the feeling that the Canadian Government is looking after the parks. "because we've been polling and we know its important" (TIAC interview 1).

The negative feelings about the Banff Bow Valley study are significant to the relationship in that these feelings have been refocused on Parks Canada, the organisation that played a critical role in co-ordinating the study and undertaking key research into the ecology and impact of tourism within the study area. The Banff Bow Valley Study and the political activity around it, had enormous implications for their relationship with Parks Canada (TIAC interview 1). Also the perception that key decisions are being made because of political motives by powers above Parks Canada may reduce the perception of the value of co-operation with the organisation.

The irony of the TIAC outrage is ample, considering the common (and documented (BBVTF 1996)) perception, at least among Parks Canada and ENGO staff, that for many years decisions concerning development in national parks had been politically manipulated by tourism interests in favour of tourism: and even more so, as this is the *admitted* strategy that TIAC continues to itself adopt.

13.5.2 A developing relationship?

Yet despite these differences, TIAC describe their relationship with Parks Canada as good. They consider that they have imparted an understanding of their goals to the level of the Assistant Deputy Minister (Parks) and that this is a valuable achievement. If there are issues that are specifically impeding their goals, then "we will go to Tom [Lee] and his people on an issue by issue basis" (TIAC interview 1). However, the most commonly used points of contact in Parks Canada are the Heritage Tourism Secretariat, and the External Relations Branch (TIAC interview 1). TIAC perceives that the relationship in the provinces will change with the creation of the Parks Canada Agency: "From what I've seen of the Agency their tourism objectives are very much in line [with TIAC] - we want to get people out there to see the parks...they're gonna be in the promotion business of parks or the park system somehow" (TIAC interview 1). As discussed in a previous section, lack of mutual awareness and values

gaps have made it difficult for any relationship to be sustained. However, with the formation of the External Relations Branch along with a new found emphasis on marketing of national parks by Parks Canada, perhaps this gap is now being bridged. The comments made above by the head of this new branch, on the significance of the relationship, certainly suggest that Parks Canada is aware of the potential value of the working with TIAC.

13.5.3 Professional background

Despite Parks Canada's willingness to grow the TIAC relationship, there still may be a shortage of staff involved in the relationship who have an adequate overlap in professional background and skills. For example, a member of the Natural Activities Branch of Parks Canada talks of going to a Tourism Industry Association of Canada conference, and finding it too business and industry oriented (Parks Canada interview 5). However, a small number of staff, within the External Relations Branch do have previous tourism marketing experience (Parks Canada interview 8).

13.5.4 Regional problems

Regionally, the relationship between the regional branches of TIAC and the regional and parks level of Parks Canada is difficult to describe, as it varies across the country. A TIAC member notes that Alberta, for example does a very thorough job of maintaining a relationship with Parks Canada, because parks is such an important issue for them (TIAC interview 1). On issues such as Banff, the national office of TIAC plays a supportive role rather than a lead role, and lets the Alberta TIAC representatives carry the message through the regional offices of Parks Canada. One factor influencing the TIAC-Parks Canada relationship was the structural division between the regional and national offices of the Department of Canadian Heritage; regional interpretations of national directives implemented policy in ways that were not always conducive to the TIAC relationship (TIAC interview 1).

13.5.5 Resourcing an issue for TIAC in the relationship

Another perceived obstacle to the relationship with Parks Canada is the size of TIAC, which only has four employees (TIAC interview 1). This is a small number of staff, considering the wide range of issues that TIAC is involved in, across a range of federal and provincial governments (although TIAC does have a network of provincial branches). Parks Canada is not the only organisation that TIAC relates to, and is certainly not the key one. TIAC deals with a range of issues e.g. taxation, transport, customs etc. The organisational priorities of TIAC are determined by its member's agenda, which is driven by the economic realities of operating a tourism enterprise (TIAC interview 1).

13.6 The Canadian Tourism Commission relationship with TIAC

CTC staff report varying relationships with TIAC. Some report minimal contact and others report working very closely with TIAC. The points of contact are varied, ranging from, for example, collaborating over the running of the Rendezvous Canada trade show, to involvement with policy forums on various tourism issues. It is noted however, that these forums to date had not included environmental issues such as national park use (CTC interview 6). Some CTC staff who were previously employed by Tourism Canada recall that there was some interaction with TIAC when that organisation consulted Tourism Canada regarding the development of their Code of Ethics and Guidelines for Sustainable Development (CTC interview 3).

CTC employees also note the significance of many CTC Board members or committee members being members of TIAC (e.g. CTC interview 3). While this aspect of the relationship is not formalised, in the sense that there is not a reserved position on these committees for a TIAC representative, the fact of having at least one TIAC member sitting on every CTC committee must contribute to a significant relationship between the two organisations, especially in terms of information flow back to TIAC regarding CTC initiatives and activities. TIAC certainly appears to be content with the way that the interests of its members are represented with respect to the development of national tourism targets, and they note that this is achieved primarily through membership of the CTC Board and committees (TIAC interview 1).

One CTC informant, when describing how tourism policy is formed in Canada, in the absence of an overt, identifiable tourism policy, notes that the trade organisations such as TIAC play a role in tourism policy development through their advocacy and lobbying activities, just as CTC does, through its marketing and promotional activities (CTC interview 4). They also point out the difference between the roles of the two organisations, in that CTC is:

... not an organisation that would stand up and wave a flag, and appear to be a lobby group. We would advocate but wouldn't necessarily appear to be a lobby group like TIAC... I don't think that we would openly stand up on any issue facing the industry, sustainable development or otherwise and advocate a position openly, publicly on any one issue. We primarily leave that to industry associations, trade associations... (CTC interview 4).

However, in describing the relationship between TIAC and the CTC, a TIAC participant does prescribe a stronger policy role for the CTC: although they are primarily a marketing organisation, they *do* have a role to “look at least at policy barriers and speak on behalf of

tourism in their own way” (TIAC interview 1). Currently they are not fulfilling that role, but the TIAC informant believes that there is a will, amongst the tourism industry, for them to do so: “There are some people who want them to do that, who probably think that TIAC is great but the more people who speak the better” (TIAC interview 1).

Currently, tourism interests are well represented at the highest political levels. A TIAC member talks of a “politically imposed” interest, referring primarily to the Chairman of the CTC Board, Judd Buchanan, and his links with the Liberal party and the Prime Minister, Jean Chretien. He (Buchanan) is “frankly very highly placed and political, he’s a former Cabinet Minister, he is a personal friend of the Prime Minister, knows everybody else well, former Treasurer in the Liberal Party [government] - as plugged in as you can possibly be” (TIAC interview 1). Buchanan appears to have helped provide a level of political access and influence for the tourism industry that it has not experienced, for some period of time:

When we have someone who can have lunch with the PM because they’re buddies, it is a significant advantage... the reason that Judd is there, and the CTC, and that government has supported tourism in a lot of fundamental ways that it never has before, is that the PM likes it. The PM likes tourism. He thinks that it has a very real role to play in job creation and economic development (TIAC interview 1).

A TIAC participant speaks of the previous Tory government, when tourism did not have this access and influence, noting the failings of the Minister at the time “... frankly my daughter would have done a better job...” (TIAC interview 1). TIAC’s concern is that because the political world changes very quickly, ultimately tourism must rely on its established bureaucratic and policy links. There is a concern that the CTC is not contributing to the development of these links: “I think that CTC has a role to increase the profile of tourism in government, to make sure that the level of interest that is politically imposed, driven, is sustained bureaucratically for the future” (TIAC interview 1).

In describing the role of TIAC, TIAC acknowledges that occasionally they do have to be critical of the federal government, which includes the CTC. For this reason, TIAC made the decision in 1980 not to accept continued government funding (that came in the form of a grant from Industry Canada) because “... its very hard to take with one hand and smack them on the side of the head with the other” (TIAC interview 1).

They have a role to work with us and to identify those issues that perhaps they can’t speak clearly about because they are partially government funded, that we have no compunction about speaking forthrightly about (TIAC interview 1).

The similarity of function between TIAC and the CTC, appears to sometimes be a source of friction in the relationship: “When there are two organisations with overlapping mandates in some ways as we tend to do right now, you will have a bit of a tug of war...over best how to work through an issue. I wouldn’t call it a tension, but an understanding that sometimes we have to agree to disagree” (TIAC interview 1).

In addition to their advocacy and lobbying function, TIAC has also historically taken on other roles. It appears that since the formation of the CTC, the TIAC role has changed. Before the formation of the CTC, “there were kinds of work that we took on in the absence of a national body, because we were it, we found ourselves in programme delivery and development, which we don’t do anymore...” (TIAC interview 1). The description of an “absence” of a national body is an interesting turn of phrase, because prior to the CTC, there was of course Tourism Canada. However, as discussed in a previous chapter, TIAC was quite vocal in its criticism of Tourism Canada, in terms of their marketing efficiency, and on representation issues. At the time of study, the CTC had only been operational for two years, and it appears from TIAC attitudes that the honeymoon period between the organisations was not yet over. Future research into the relationship would be interesting – especially to examine representation issues for TIAC’s substantial small-to-medium-enterprise membership.

13.7 Interest Group - interorganisational relations summary

13.7.1 ENGO – Parks Canada relations

The relationship between the ENGOs and Parks Canada appears to have developed from one of conflict, based initially on divergent values, to one where there is today a considerable coincidence of values. However, the relationship is largely *ad hoc*, issue based and composed of temporary forums: it lacks the formalisation and stability sought by the ENGOs.

The relationship can be characterised as one of exchange, whereby from the ENGOs perspective, they seek policy input and ‘enlightened’ policy output from the relationship in terms of the organisation’s goals of enhancing the ecological integrity of national parks. From Parks Canada’s perspective, the support of the ENGOs as political allies within the national parks – tourism domain is sought from the relationship. However the lack of stable long-term institutional arrangements that would help facilitate the relationship may indicate that Parks Canada feel that this resource is not sufficient to induce them to form such a relationship. Or perhaps Parks Canada prefer to keep ENGOs on the fringe as they are perceived to be more valuable domain allies there. The ENGOs would continue to be strong advocates for ecological integrity in parks (and thus serve Parks Canada’s policy purposes) irrespective of any formalised relationship with Parks Canada.

With the establishment of the new Parks Canada Agency, the opportunity for a more stable, formalised relationship (in the way of an advisory board) was not taken. Parks Canada may have feared that by including ENGOs (and therefore by necessity other stakeholders such as tourism) in a highly formalised and binding arrangement, that this would result in a serious loss of autonomy to the organisation. The option was taken to stay with the status quo.

Consequently, Parks Canada's commitment to co-ordination with ENGOs continues to be questioned, the organisation being accused of failing to implement the outcomes when occasions of co-ordinated interaction *do* occur, or even simply only establishing an image of meaningful consultation. That Parks Canada would seek to form relationships with ENGOs simply to establish a positive image of co-operation, or *legitimacy* through the relationship is questionable, considering that organisation's scarce resources. Independent sources tend to classify Parks Canada as having increasingly permeable organisational boundaries in this respect, and operating a genuinely more inclusive and transparent policy process (e.g. Dearden 1995).

From the ENGO perspective there are also aspects of asymmetry to the relationship, in that ENGOs realise that there is potential to exercise power or control over Parks Canada's national park management practices. However, typically the power dynamic between these parties is mediated by bodies or processes outside of the immediate national park – tourism domain: through the media, or by litigation. Thus although the ENGOs seek greater power and legitimacy through “within-domain” processes, they recognise limitations in these areas, and also choose “out-of-domain” modes of action in order to meet their objectives.

The relationship with ENGOs is complicated by the size of the parks agency, and the range of staff in terms of professional backgrounds and related values. While there is an apparent coincidence of values between the ENGOs and some staff, this appears to particularly apply to the more junior staff and those with an ecological background. Increasingly, the ENGOs have been developing the science aspect of their arguments, and this ‘common language’ has facilitated the relationship with the above Parks Canada staff. The senior staff tend to be dominated more by generic managers, with whom the ENGOs don't have such a coincidence of values.

This difference in values is manifested in the degree of *importance* of the linkage: the ENGOs consider the relationship to be extremely important; Parks Canada staff consider the relationship to be important, but often not as important as the relationship with the tourism sector, for example. The initial work of the External Relations Branch, in its relative neglect

of ENGOs, supports this as an organisational stance. Also with such a large organisation, invariably personalities may be seen as inhibitors to certain aspects of the relationship: this is reported to be a minor factor in certain sites only.

13.7.2 ENGO – Canadian Tourism Commission relations

Participants from all organisations indicate that there would be little value in co-operation between the organisations, positive beliefs in outcomes were not apparent. This is attributable for the ENGOs, to a lack of awareness and trust in the tourism sector *per se*. For the CTC it is simply not an organisational priority.

13.7.3 ENGO – Tourism Industry Association of Canada relations

In principle, the contingency of reciprocity or exchange could serve as an incentive for ENGOs and TIAC to form a co-operative relationship: both parties seeking the opportunity to advocate their policy positions to each other, and hopefully make inroads in their counterparts' policies and practices.

In practice, however, participants view the values gap between them as being too great to bridge. A number of other inhibiting factors also emerge: negative perceptions of one another; different professional backgrounds inhibiting communication; and personality conflict. Because of the small size of each of these organisations, when personality problems did occur, they seriously inhibited the relationship.

13.7.4 Tourism Industry Association of Canada - Parks Canada relations

Participants from each organisation viewed the importance of this linkage differently: this is related to the perceptions of each organisation of the potential resource gains from the relationship. Most Parks Canada participants placed a low priority on the linkage generally, although there appeared to be a recognition by the newly established External Relations Branch of the potential value of interaction. TIAC viewed the relationship as important, essentially because of the potential policy gains that they could make. The relationship, from their perspective, is thus motivated by the contingency of asymmetry, or the opportunity to assert power over Parks Canada. TIAC, in a similar manner to the ENGOs, seek policy gains in national parks policy, but for improved access for tourism development.

The relationship, however, is lacking in stability, formalisation and intensity. This may be partly attributable to TIAC historically not investing a large amount of resources into it. This is due to the organisation being small, and having a high multiplexity of other linkages to

maintain. It is also due to TIAC traditionally being successful in achieving policy ends through political means that involve by-passing the parks agency. This mode of action is also recognised by a number of Parks Canada participants and has not fostered a positive awareness and trust of TIAC.

A further inhibiting factor to the relationship is the difference in the professional backgrounds of staff in the two organisations, which is manifested in the prevalence of different values, and in difficulties of communication.

13.7.5 Tourism Industry Association of Canada – Canadian Tourism Commission relations

The TIAC – CTC relationship is motivated by reciprocity, or the exchange of resources. The key resource that TIAC brings to the relationship is the political support of its substantial membership for the work of the CTC. Likewise, the CTC provides access to TIAC to influential policy arenas.

The relationship is highly formalised, and quite intense in terms of the extent of the exchange. The intensity of the relationship between TIAC and the NTO appears to have grown since the establishment of the CTC. Now, there is considerable networking between TIAC and CTC members, with TIAC being represented on many key structures of the CTC. Furthermore, with the narrowing of function of the NTO and its focus upon marketing alone, TIAC has effectively assumed some of the former policy and functional roles previously held by the NTO. This has established a relationship based on resource-dependency, where the NTO is dependent upon TIAC for the provision of advocacy along with some services. Overall, the key facilitating factor in this relationship is the strong coincidence of values between the organisations.

13.7.6 Summary

This chapter has addressed three interest groups' relationships with one another and with the key stakeholders. Relationships with the interest groups are seen in general by Parks Canada and the NTO to be less important than the relationships that they have with each other. This is in general linked to size differential of the organisations, limited mandates re co-operation (especially for the CTC), and on occasion a limited awareness of the role and significance that interest groups have in the domain. The ENGO – Parks Canada relationship, in particular, is complex and dominated by the issue of (lack of) legitimacy for the interest groups. In contrast, on the 'other side' of the domain, the CTC and TIAC are particularly well linked, through common membership and delegated functions. In terms of across-domain

relationships, the study reconfirms previous research (e.g. Selin and Beason 1991) indicating that key inhibitors to relationships are still primarily differences in institutional values and ideologies, and the linked attitudes and behaviour of individuals within organisations.

The final chapter will provide a discussion of the relationships among the study organisations, synthesising the historic, documented data with the contemporary interview data. Key facilitating and inhibiting factors will be outlined and the impact of the consequent relations upon domain development discussed. Implications for the operationalisation of sustainable development will be considered.

Chapter 14: Co-ordination, conflict and sustainability?

14.1 Introduction

The goal of this study has been to investigate the interorganisational relationship component of sustainable tourism. This research provides a link, in the form of a case study, between the general debates concerning sustainability and collaboration. The case study examines the role of interorganisational relations in the operationalisation of sustainable tourism within a national park system setting.

Given the overall goal of the study, a number of key objectives were identified:

1. To describe the nature of the interorganisational relationship between Canada's national parks agency and its national tourism organisation.
2. To describe the nature of the interorganisational relationships between the above organisations and a sample of key interest groups – specifically environmental non-governmental organisations and a tourism lobby group.
3. To ascertain the contemporary factors that act as facilitators or inhibitors to interorganisational relationships among the above organisations.
4. To investigate the connection between interorganisational relations and the operationalisation of sustainable tourism in Canada's national park system.

This chapter reviews the content of previous chapters in relation to the above objectives and in relation to the research framework developed for this study. The research framework for this thesis adopts a multi-scale approach, incorporating data representing a number of levels, from macro to micro, from global to national to organisational to personal. This approach is reflected in the structure of the thesis, which progressively examines the role of different contexts, social, political, economic, both in an historic and contemporary setting, and at the variety of levels outlined above.

Previous chapters have served to introduce the research problem, and the theoretical framework for this research, and have introduced the research organisations and provided empirical documentation, both primary based and historic, of their historic and contemporary relationships. This chapter draws on the summary findings of previous chapters, and serves to provide a more in depth analysis and discussion of the previously presented empirical data, with respect to the IOR framework adopted for this research. A number of conclusions are drawn, which are presented with a discussion of their ramifications, in the final section of this chapter.

14.2 The historic context for current relationships

This study addresses the issue of sustainable tourism within protected areas, and the role of co-ordinated planning and partnerships in contributing towards this goal. In order to be able to consider relationships among stakeholders within this policy domain, an examination and understanding of the domain in terms of the resource under consideration, the values of that resource, and the critical debates concerning the use of that resource has been undertaken. First it is clear that the relationship between tourism and the environment has been characteristically contentious. Most commentators agree that environmental degradation within protected natural areas is an important contemporary concern. The historical record also reveals that it has been a constant and growing concern, but that it has never been the sole concern. The historic formation of national parks demonstrates that while one of the goals was the preservation of ecological systems, from the outset, this goal has been dependent upon notions of demonstrable utility. That is, the protection and maintenance of natural areas was from the outset linked to demonstrating the social and economic values of these areas and realising material support for these areas. Specifically preservation was cast as a social act, that is, parks were not to be cordoned off 'natural areas' void of people. Rather, the national park was to be a social (and natural) enclave, and preservation a social goal that could only be realised if the 'social' importance of parks could be demonstrated. Demonstrating this social importance hinged on demonstrating that parks had utility. That is, they could and would be used by growing numbers of people both domestic and international, and that these people would pay to visit the parks, thus generating revenue for the nation. Visitors would fund the protection, thus the value and indeed the justification of protected areas was simultaneously measured in terms of ecological preservation and their demonstrated social and material utility. If areas such as national parks could ultimately sustain themselves through visitors, then they would be seen to have demonstrated utility – and thereby would have justified their existence.

Over time, there have been a number of shifts in the definitions of what the role and function of national parks should be. These changes reflect broader societal and global changes. Without reiterating the details, what needs to be born in mind is the constant interplay, tension and conflict that arises from the conflictual roles and functions, and indeed ideologies related to national parks: primarily the need to preserve and the constant need to demonstrate utility (financial viability). While visitor numbers remained low, the tension and conflict was not overt, but post WWII the relationship changed irrevocably. In an era of mass production, mass consumption and rapidly changing lifestyles associated with these changes, the number of tourists increased dramatically. The old tension between preservation and utility became more pressing as increasingly it was demonstrated that impact of visitors on protected natural areas was significant. Increasingly too, national parks were commodified and increasingly the

rhetoric emphasised that parks were in fact a resource which the tourism industry exploited. While arguably this has always been a feature of the relationship, over the last forty to fifty years the utility focus has been more overt.

Approaches to the management of conflicting roles and functions of protected areas have also varied over time, however a consistent feature of this management is that it has been a single-agency approach. Initially the concept of carrying capacity was offered as a potential method of managing the impact on the environment. However it increasingly became clear that the subjective elements of determining 'capacity' and the practical implementation of the concept were problematic. More recently the issue of the impact of tourism has been recast in terms of how can the relationship be managed in such a way that both the needs and role of the tourism industry can be sustained and the ecological integrity of protected natural areas be maintained. This question has implications, not just ideological, but also in terms of policy, planning and implementation. The question is in fact an old question, but the proposed solution is 'new'.

While there have been shifts in the perception of the tourism industry and the role of national parks there is to date little evidence that those working within this domain have instigated integrated strategic planning. Hence, the emergence of the concept of 'sustainability', or 'sustainable development' with its underlying principle of integrated planning, has become central to debates about the impact of the tourism industry on protected natural areas. While the themes of 'protection' and 'utility' continue to be an issue in this domain, the newly emergent concept of 'sustainability' has increasingly been incorporated into the vernacular. What this means and what the implications might be for the management of the relationship between protected natural areas and the tourism industry needs to be considered in some detail.

14.2.1 Requirement for a co-ordinated approach to planning in the domain

What is overtly apparent, though, is that the issue of tourism impact in protected areas is an issue requiring integrated action from a number of stakeholders. In particular, the role of the state has been highlighted, both in the marketing of tourism and in environmental planning. Additionally, more recently, the non-governmental sector has been seen to play an increasingly important role.

Recently, a sustainable development approach has been promulgated as a means of addressing some of the inherent problems of tourism. While it is acknowledged that the concepts of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development are problematic in their inherent vagueness or in the way that they may be flexed towards a range of organisational goals, nevertheless, they have been adopted and incorporated at a range of levels from

international policy to the vernacular. Central to the sustainable development approach is an integrated, collaborative, interorganisational planning process. For sustainable tourism to become operational, especially because of its cross-sectoral makeup, co-operative interorganisational relations are generally seen to be essential.

14.2.2 Interorganisational relations approach

This study has adopted a case study approach, employing an interorganisational relations framework to determine if indeed protected area managers, tourism organisations and other stakeholders can work together harmoniously towards the goal of sustainable tourism. Despite a growing rhetoric of partnership and co-operation across a variety of policy fields, including the tourism field, extant literature would suggest that the odds are stacked against this actually occurring in practice, with little evidence of integrated strategic planning having occurred in this domain. This is attributed primarily to the differing ideologies of stakeholders i.e. utility versus preservation. A sustainable development approach in theory would attempt to bridge this gap, through its inherent components of inclusion and integration, and thus the incorporation of a range of values. However, such an approach would depend upon stakeholders recognising the value of co-operation, and inhibitors to relationships being outweighed by facilitating factors.

From a limited, but growing number of empirical studies of interorganisational relations within the protected area – tourism field, a number of inhibiting factors have been identified (e.g. Selin and Beason 1991; Selin and Chavez 1995; Selin and Myers 1995; Jamal and Getz 1995). These include lack of domain consensus, lack of awareness (of other stakeholders and their positions), differing ideologies, lack of shared vision, lack of trust, lack of leadership, and lack of administrative support. Together these indicate that the protected area – tourism domain could be said to be underorganised (Brown 1980), and consequently less effective in offering sustainable solutions to the problems of tourism within protected areas.

14.3 Sustainable development and interorganisational relations

Co-operative interorganisational relations are said to be essential ingredients in the operationalisation of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development. It is evident that there is a degree of mutuality between the concept of sustainable development and interorganisational relations. Collaborative interorganisational relations may impact on the operationalisation of sustainable development through the potential of relationships to foster meaningful policy interaction among sometimes disparate interests. But to what extent has

sustainable development as a concept or paradigm impacted upon interorganisational relations in a tangible way?

A key aspect of the concept of sustainable tourism development is that a co-ordinated, and thus interorganisational approach is seen as essential for its operationalisation. As a planning principle, the concept is inherently inclusive and consultative. All interests are said to have a role to play in planning for sustainable development, thus the concept grants legitimacy to all stakeholders, thus, in theory at least, fostering domain development.

But sustainable development and sustainable tourism development are 'problematic' notions, broadly interpreted and difficult to define. Numerous technical and philosophical objections have been raised over the concept of sustainability. Indeed, members within a single domain may have antithetical interpretations of sustainable development, resulting from different values, organisational norms and organisational priorities extant within individual organisations or sectors. A consequence of this is that domain members may have widely divergent views on potential domain outcomes. Thus, rather than facilitate relationships, the concept of sustainable development may serve to entrench stakeholders in traditional positions of opposition through their adherence to narrowly defined interpretations.

That is, that although there appears to be unanimous agreement that sustainable development necessarily requires an integrative policy process, as alluded to above, the very concept is often misunderstood, or so vague that it is easily usurped by various interests for their own ends. Sustainable development is the concept that can simultaneously mean everything and nothing. Effectively, stakeholders are being asked to co-operate under the umbrella of a concept that is at best only hazily understood or has been defined and interpreted from an individual or organisational perspective rather than a domain perspective. Thus domains convened under the sustainable development umbrella, may often be at best thought of as *contested* (Hardy 1994) and may have difficulty progressing beyond the stage of problem-setting and on to the stages of direction-setting and implementation, unless specific constructive processes are applied.

Another issue with the implementation of sustainable development is the lack of commitment to the concept by some organisations. Business organisations in particular have been accused of opportunism in terms of taking advantage of the positive associations of being involved in 'sustainability'. Organisations may be prompted to enter into relationships within sustainable development domains because of the *legitimacy* that is granted, rather than through having a shared positive belief in the outcomes of the interaction. Such motivation will inevitably lead to difficulties in maintaining relationships. Furthermore, many governments may have

contributed towards rendering sustainable development useless as a planning principle because of the way that they have tended to subjugate the environmental goals inherent in the concept through their emphasis on economic goals.

14.3.1 Sustainable tourism development

Sustainable development and consequently sustainable tourism development approaches have been promulgated as means of addressing tourism impacts. This is due to their inherently integrated, cross-sectoral, and inclusive approach – in many ways the antithesis to extant or previous planning frameworks. Sustainable tourism development is recognised as an organisational issue, dependent upon organisations forming relationships to address issues. This study has adopted interorganisational relations (IOR) theory as a tool to explore the nature of relations within one sustainable tourism policy domain – that of national park tourism in Canada. In terms of IOR theory, a sustainable development approach to tourism could be said to help facilitate interorganisational relations among tourism stakeholders through a number of means. These are expressed partly in terms of the critical contingencies (Oliver 1990) for relationships:

- Through the contingency of *necessity*, where the organisations are necessitated to enter into relationships through institutional arrangements which make this mandatory.
- Through the contingency of *assymetry*, where, because of the inclusive and collective nature of sustainable development as a planning principle, stakeholders recognise new opportunities to gain control of resources.
- Through the contingency of *reciprocity*, where, because of the inclusive and collective nature of sustainable development as a planning principle, stakeholders recognise new opportunities to exchange resources.
- Through the contingency of *stability*, where, because of the inherently compromising nature of sustainable development as a planning principle, stakeholders recognise opportunities to reach agreement and compromise with potentially competitive stakeholders and thus ensure short-mid term stability.

And:

- Through the leadership that is provided by sustainable development being an internationally accepted planning principle/concept, endorsed by global institutions
- Through implicitly granting stakeholder legitimacy to those who may have been omitted from previous planning approaches, or who have divergent views from the domain norm.
- By fostering a positive belief in outcomes, and a recognition of independence among participating stakeholders.

Through the above and other means, facilitating interorganisational relations potentially contributes to domain development, whereby domains become structured and members have a greater potential to reach mutual solutions to problems – in this instance, the realisation or operationalisation of sustainable development.

However, not all of the above motivations may lead to organisations playing a constructive role within the domain. For example, organisations that are induced to enter into relationships through the contingency of *legitimacy* – that is, to seek legitimacy, or an enhanced image within the domain, not because they share a positive belief in the outcome of the relationship(s) – potentially may inhibit domain development. Similarly, organisations that are mandated by external sustainable development imperatives to enter into relationships may not necessarily demonstrate a commitment to, or investment of appropriate resources into those relationships.

14.3.2 Sustainable development in Canada

This research revealed that in Canada at the federal level, and to some extent in the private sector, that sustainability has been a concept that has been acknowledged and incorporated through the adoption of institutional arrangements intended to facilitate implementation. The federal government has developed strong policy initiatives for the adoption of sustainable development as a planning and societal paradigm, for example through the Green Plan and the Guide to Green Government (Environment Canada 1990; 1995). Through providing strong leadership in this area, public and private sector organisations have become involved and integrated, to various degrees, in the debate and operationalisation of sustainable development.

Private sector organisations are free to choose whether or not to become involved in the debate. This is not the case for federal organisations. A strengthened institutional framework, involving amended legislation, grants greater powers to the federal government for example in auditing federal organisations' operations in terms of sustainability, and requires greater accountability from Ministers for measurable advances in the sustainability of their organisations' activities (Environment Canada 1995). For example, necessitating the compilation of strategies for sustainable development, has meant that federal organisations are now inevitably located within the sustainable development domain. These arrangements have required that federal organisations consult and thus inter-relate with other stakeholders more widely, at least in the development of their strategies. In terms of interorganisational relations, the adoption of the sustainable development paradigm by the federal government provides the contingency of *necessity*, dictating the formation of relations, and engagement in debate on sustainability.

14.4 The national park tourism domain

In practice, within the study domain of national park – tourism, despite the leadership of the federal government and the building of various institutional arrangements, the extent to which the two key federal stakeholders have adopted sustainable approaches to tourism and have formed relations as a result, varies considerably.

14.4.1 The parks agency and sustainable tourism

The parks agency has demonstrated an historic predisposition to the concept of sustainability and sustainable tourism development. Traditionally through their dual mandate of preservation and use, some blend or ‘balance’ in this area has either been the goal of the agency, or has been imposed upon it by external political influences. More recently, through a number of societal influences, the balance has been tipped more in favour of preservation, or ecological sustainability. However, there is an indication that economic considerations may again act to impose upon national parks a greater role in economic/societal sustainability, on a regional and national scale. Mindful of a past association with tourism that could be characterised as inconsistent, the parks agency now openly acknowledges that it does have a role in contributing to a vibrant tourism industry. This role is now well defined through general policy, and in terms of the parks agency’s contribution to its departmental Sustainable Development Strategy (SDS). The SDS does consider the role of tourism in parks as a component of the agency’s contribution towards sustainable development on a larger scale. But overall, past and current activities of the parks agency are merely re-interpreted through the lens of sustainability, rather than venturing new explicitly crafted strategies for long term solutions to issues such as tourism impact. This omission may be due to a number of reasons: first, that the parks agency’s SDS component was incomplete due to the process being undertaken in a *‘pro forma’* manner. In other words, there was not a commitment to the process from the parks agency. Indications are that this related to both resourcing of the process and commitments of staff to other tasks, at time of considerable change for Parks Canada. Also, participants revealed that there was a certain amount of diversity of opinion within the parks agency concerning the role of tourism in national parks. Consequently, a strong focus upon tourism as a sustainable development tool could be seen to be contentious by some staff members, and may have contributed toward its low profile in the SDS.

14.4.2 Attitudes towards sustainable tourism among parks agency staff

Interviews with Parks Canada staff involved in the study domain also revealed a certain reticence towards the concept of sustainable development. Sustainable tourism development does not appear to be in the common lexicon of the organisation, and it has been suggested by

participants external to the organisation that this is because of its connotation of compromise. But just because the organisation does not openly use the word does not mean that it is not in the sustainable development business. While the parks agency's new paradigm may be ecological integrity, which has achieved primacy in policy since the amended park legislation of 1988, an analysis of its activities and acknowledged role in tourism would indicate that the organisation is indeed adopting a sustainable tourism approach.

A contributing factor to this absence of sustainable tourism from within the organisation's lexicon is the lack of a recognised legislative or policy framework for sustainable tourism. Although Parks Canada may be involved in sustainable tourism, it is careful to approach it from their own policy and legislative framework, and to avoid being trapped by wider industry definitions.

14.4.3 The national tourism organisation and sustainable tourism

The national tourism organisation has undergone substantial changes over the period in which sustainable development gained credence. From the late 1980s to 1995, Tourism Canada demonstrated some commitment to the concept. Over that period, a number of policy documents addressed sustainability, and Tourism Canada made some institutional arrangements for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism, devoting staff to this issue. These arrangements also involved developing linkages with the parks agency, and also with international organisations involved in advocating sustainable tourism. However, a certain variability in the way that sustainable tourism was interpreted by Tourism Canada is evident from the analysis of policy releases, and of their marketing strategies. Significantly, the vulnerability of national parks and the need for sustainable management was recognised, however this did not appear to be translated into the organisation's marketing strategies, which simultaneously talk of protecting the resource but 'maximising' returns of federal properties such as national parks.

With the advent of the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) in 1995, the position of parks as being "underutilised natural products" (Buchanan 1994:3) continued. However, the previous policy work undertaken by Tourism Canada regarding sustainability in this area, that may or may not have had some mitigating influence, was not continued. It was not until 1997 that the CTC was to show any interest in sustainable development, and then in a minimal way.

In 1997, the CTC's parent organisation, Industry Canada released its Sustainable Development Strategy. In theory, the CTC should have had some involvement, but interviews with staff revealed minimal or no knowledge of the departmental strategy, nor of the CTC's involvement. Examination of Industry Canada's SDS shows no mention of the role of tourism

in contributing to the broader federal or national sustainable development goals. Similarly the CTC research programme indicates no interest in the issue of sustainability. It was not until 1997 that the CTC demonstrated any interest in discussing sustainable tourism, however there is no evidence of any subsequent institutional arrangements being made in support of the resultant discussion document. Also, the document addresses the issue from an *industry* perspective rather than from its own *organisational* perspective.

The low profile of sustainable tourism is acknowledged by CTC participants in the study, and is attributable to the changed mandate of the organisation relative to the earlier mandate of Tourism Canada. While most CTC participants demonstrated an awareness of the reliance of tourism upon a quality 'natural product' such as national parks, and of the need to control impacts, even those parks with currently demonstrated crowding issues, continue to feature strongly in promotional material. With regard to the question of marketing, and the potential this had to contribute to negative impacts in parks, the option of consciously 'demarketing' sites was not considered by the organisation. The role of addressing tourism impact was generally seen to be the responsibility of the parks agency. Thus although the CTC is unarguably involved in the management of national parks through their continued promotion of these sites, this fact is not consciously recognised by the organisation, in terms of the potential externalities of that promotion. These findings confirm the findings of researchers that tourism marketing practices at national levels often disregard environmental issues, and more specifically, that NTOs fail to meet identified concerns within the industry.

14.4.4 Changes in the NTO's approach towards sustainable development

As outlined above, the role with respect to sustainable tourism changed dramatically with the change from Tourism Canada to the Canadian Tourism Commission. This could be linked with the change from public sector domination of Canada's NTO to private sector domination. The CTC is now run along the lines of what has been described as state and market interests being mediated through a "private interest group" (Richards 1995:167). Within this type of structure, dominated by tourism business leaders, it would appear that environmental interests stand little chance of being heard. This is reflected, for example, in the 1997 CTC research agenda, which based on a survey of CTC and TIAC Boards identified not a single research proposal concerning environmental or sustainability issues. This change in organisational priorities is of concern in terms of its potential to impact on planning for sustainable tourism.

These omissions or failures on the part of the CTC bring into question the accountability of this quasi-governmental model of NTO with respect to its responsibilities under the Canadian federal government's sustainable development mandate. This is even more pertinent with recent moves for the NTO to become a Crown corporation, which would add further

administrative and philosophical distance between the NTO and the federal government. Will their performance with respect to sustainable development continue to be monitored and regulated as scrupulously as traditional federal agencies, or will they escape the 'net' of sustainability? This will ultimately be determined by the federal government's ongoing commitment to the paradigm.

14.4.5 Ramifications re implementation of sustainable tourism development

Obviously the two diverse approaches to sustainable tourism development by the two key stakeholders have ramifications for the implementation of the concept in the context of Canadian national parks. On the one hand is the agency who has an historical appreciation of the need for a sustainable approach – although it may not necessarily be recognised by that title; and on the other hand is the NTO who have paid minimal attention to the issue, with their new narrow focus upon the economic dimensions of tourism. Although in spirit, and because of the harsh realities of tourism-revenue-dependence, the parks agency comes close to having a defined role with respect to sustainable tourism, neither organisation has a particular mandate to implement the concept.

Furthermore, whilst some workers in the field of tourism policy (e.g. WTTC 1995) have identified a key role for governments, and NTOs in particular, to co-ordinate the institutional arrangements for the implementation of sustainable tourism development, it is highly unlikely that this will be the case in Canada, as long as the CTC's mandate remains lacking in this area.

14.4.6 TIAC and sustainable tourism development

Ironically, it has been the tourism industry itself, at the micro level that has accepted the challenge of sustainability, through, for example, the development of codes and guidelines by its industry representative TIAC. However, again, despite a body of research that allots an active role for the state organisations in this area, and thus indicates that organisations such as the parks agency and the NTO *should* have had a major role in the development of these guidelines, this has been demonstrated to be not the case. It appears that organisational priorities laying elsewhere, together with (in the case of the parks agency) the politics of co-operating with an organisation (TIAC) that may not have been seen as a traditional partner, has subverted any chance of substantial collaboration in this case.

However, despite the benefits arising from the production of the above code and guidelines, for example in terms of raising industry awareness, there remains a question of whether this is in fact a *substantive* policy output, or whether it may be interpreted as part of a process of legitimating the tourism industry's place within the natural environment. Certainly TIAC as

an organisation continues to overtly advocate increased tourism development within national parks, and have been critical of recent planning approaches that have sought more ecologically sustainable tourism.

14.4.7 The position of ENGOs re sustainable development

To complicate matters further within this policy domain, the environmental interest groups (ENGOs) have demonstrated a certain wariness towards the concept of sustainability. The ENGOs in fact adopt a similar stance on sustainable tourism to the parks agency in terms of preferring an ecosystem management approach and defining sustainability solely in terms of the natural values of parks. This is a further irony, as TIAC acknowledges that a motivation for preparing the above guidelines for sustainable tourism development was to address the negative feeling about tourism evident within the environmental community. Unfortunately, ENGOs remain unimpressed by TIAC's initiatives.

In terms of domain development whereby stakeholders may work together to achieve co-operative solutions to mutual problems, there are a number of inhibiting factors relating to the appropriateness of sustainable tourism development as an organising concept. First, that the issue of tourism overuse of national parks is *not* seen as a problem by all stakeholders i.e. by the CTC. Thus the need for a 'sustainable solution' is not unanimously accepted across the domain. Secondly, the concept of sustainable tourism is interpreted in a variety of ways by different stakeholders. The CTC interprets it in an economic sense, whilst the ENGOs prefer an ecological basis for sustainability (a 'stronger' version) as it meets their mandates more fully, and the parks agency fits somewhere in the middle, with acknowledged economic *and* ecological goals. Thus, domain development is inhibited by both a low level of positive awareness of the value of co-operating, and a lack of stakeholder consensus over the meaning of sustainable tourism in the national parks context.

14.5 The context for interorganisational relations in Canada

Sustainable development is just one contextual factor that has impacted upon interorganisational relations among the stakeholders in this study. An analysis of the broader historical context for the development of interorganisational relations between the study organisations revealed that the context for relations has changed significantly in Canada over time. Initially, many internal and external relations of the federal government were conducted in an informal, unstructured manner. Clientelist relations between federal departments and key interest groups (mainly industry-based groups) were the norm up until the 1960s. Interdepartmental relations were conducted informally, at the top bureaucratic levels, with

senior bureaucrats having a substantial amount of discretion and influence in policy development.

This changed, however, due to influences arising both within and externally to the federal policy system. One of these influences was the rise of participatory democracy throughout the 1960s, which resulted in a multiplicity of interests wishing to partake in policy development and implementation across a raft of policy fields. The result of this was that extant policy domains, that could be described as developed or organised, were challenged, or became contested in terms of membership and values.

14.5.1 Development of the national park – tourism domain

This pattern of domain development is evident from the historical analysis of the national park – tourism domain in Canada. The early domain could be characterised as being rapidly organised, as stakeholders recognised the value of co-operation. The parks agency worked collaboratively with members of the tourism industry and later with the national tourism organisation to achieve mutual goals. From the time of the first national park in Canada, the relationship between organisations in this domain, arising initially from a mutual position of resource scarcity was based on reciprocity or exchange of resources. The Canadian Pacific Railway (which in the absence of an NTO took on the role of promoting Canada for tourism) provided both financial support for the practical management of some early parks as tourism resources, along with a supply of tourists, in exchange for rights for tourism development within the now legally protected parks. The coincidence of values between the organisations was complete, as both the federal government and the Canadian Pacific Railway envisaged a booming park-based tourism industry, and the role of utility (of the parks) was clearly placed above that of protection.

At the time, what environmental interests did exist, were generally supportive of the drive for tourism in parks, in that tourism provided the economic legitimisation of the establishment and protection of national parks. Those interests that may have disagreed with tourism development in national parks did not appear to have been able to influence this course of action.

For a period, private industry, (mainly the Canadian Pacific Railway) undertook the marketing of national parks. This role was then assumed by the parks agency themselves, and later by the newly formed national tourism organisation, the Canadian Travel Bureau. For a substantial period, there were intense collaborative relations between the Parks Branch and the NTO in terms of the marketing of national parks. It was evident that over this period, lasting up to the 1960s, that there was a commonly held ideal of what national parks should be –

epitomised by the “Playgrounds for the People” slogan (CGTB 1956:1). Over this period, the Parks Branch accommodated the needs of the tourist industry, by generally making national parks available for tourism development. National parks emerged as valuable political and regional development tools over this time.

Over this period, consensus within the domain was assisted by a general lack of concern for, or awareness of the impacts of tourism within national parks. It was also assisted by a limited membership of the domain, and a shared understanding of what national parks should be, and of their role in national economic development, and consequently the place of tourism in parks. The Parks Branch - tourism industry relationship was a microcosm of the broader public-private sector relationship, cemented by a shared belief in the goals of economic development as being of paramount importance for the nation. The laissez-faire approach to tourism in parks was also contributed to by the lack of an established policy concerning tourism development in national parks and perpetuated by the high degree of political access that tourism interests enjoyed at the time.

14.5.2 Challenges to domain consensus

The age of participatory democracy, together with a growing awareness of the impacts of tourism within national parks impacted upon the study domain. The dramatic increase in national park visitors in the post WWII period witnessed increased physical and social impacts. From the 1960s, these impacts became the concern not only of environmental interest groups, but also increasingly of the parks agency itself. The result of this was that the parks agency began to demonstrate, through the development of policies that were not quite so accommodating to tourism, its deviance from the convergent values previously displayed within the domain. Concurrently, non-governmental interest groups, displaying even more divergent views from the norm, began to seek an input to the policy development and implementation in national parks, thus seeking legitimacy within the domain.

The result was that particularly from the 1970s onwards, many national park policies and individual development proposals in parks began to be hotly debated. This resulted in the deterioration of traditional alliances within the domain, between the parks agency and the tourism industry, and the national tourism organisation. This deterioration was exacerbated by the growing role of the NTO in terms of tourism product development. Tourism by the 1970s was increasingly recognised as a valuable industry for Canada, and the NTO was given the mandate to develop that industry. This threw the two organisations into opposition as they fought for power over the control of national parks as a federal resource – a resource for the tourism industry, or a resource to be preserved intact for its intrinsic values. In part, this conflict can be traced back to its roots in the early national parks, when the federal

government, followed more specifically by the parks agency, opened the door to tourism interests, which in a way granted some rights of 'ownership' of the resource. More recently, the concern of parks (to some extent) and environmental interests has been how to get that ownership restored to the parks agency, and to get tourism back *out* the door. The traditional rights of access to parks for tourism interests were not to be relinquished easily.

Admittedly, however, over the above period, relations between the key stakeholders cannot be described as being entirely conflictual nor entirely co-operative. The picture is somewhat complicated by the swinging position of the parks agency with respect to the role of tourism in national parks. The parks agency has at times courted or condemned tourism, depending upon a number of factors. One influence in this respect has been the role of the federal government, for example in encouraging an environment-economy thrust: over that period (1986-1990) the parks agency actively courted tourism interests seeking and developing closer relations. However, an important consideration is that the parks agency is a large organisation and even during periods of 'official co-operation', parts of the organisation were resistant to an enhanced presence of tourism in national parks, and of the role of marketing of parks.

14.5.3 The federal role in fostering relationships

A key development in terms of the federal context for co-ordination, from the late 1960s was the role of the federal government in fostering or enforcing closer relations among its departments and agencies. Over the 1970s in particular, this was demonstrated in the study domain by the development of interdepartmental committees for tourism, which provided a potential forum for co-ordinated planning and the addressing of mutual problems. This forum had ceased to exist by the 1980s, and was replaced by a more ad-hoc or issue-by-issue approach between the two agencies.

By the late 1980s, the issue of sustainable development was the next federal 'incentive' for co-operation, but as outlined above, due to a number of organisational factors, has not provided the avenue for co-ordination between the two key stakeholders, that it could have potentially offered. But around the same time, further policy moves by the federal government again began to provide a new basis for co-ordination between the two organisations. Since the mid-late 1980s the role of the state in Canada has changed considerably. The emphasis on privatisation of previously state owned and run organisations, accompanied by deregulation in many sectors of the economy has influenced the relationship between Parks Canada and the CTC. Since the late 1980s Canadian federal policy has typically involved reducing spending (Johnson and Stritch 1996). This has been driven by monetarist policies that have placed a greater emphasis on reducing or eliminating Canada's substantial federal deficit by reducing state subvention and encouraging market support of state enterprise.

14.5.4 Federal macro-economic policy

Findings from the study suggest that Canada's macro-economic policy has been significant in defining the current nature of the relationship between Parks Canada and the Canadian Tourism Commission. Many participants in the study, from both organisations, reported an historic tension in the relationship between Parks Canada and the CTC, attributing this to their seemingly incompatible mandates: one organisation advocating preservation of the ecological integrity in an environment where tourism use has been identified as a primary threat to this integrity; and the other organisation advocating greater tourism in parks. This tension is part of the historical context of the relationship. However, what is interesting, is to examine how recent moves in federal fiscal policy, characterised by the retreat of the state, have affected this tension: do they help to resolve or exacerbate it?

Macro-economic policy manifests itself in terms of the relationship, in a number of overt and subtle ways. Most obviously, the resourcing of government departments has been typically reduced, accompanied by downsizing in terms of staff numbers achieved through restructuring on a geographic and/or functional basis, with the overarching goal of economic efficiency. It has also led to an increased focus on self-funding, and the loss of roles that are no longer seen as "core business". It also effects the way that government bodies "do business" on a day to day basis, through their structures, their mandates, their organisational norms, their staff attitudes, and by affecting the permeability of their organisational boundaries.

The study highlights the ways in which macro-economic policy works to both facilitate and inhibit interorganisational relations between the two stakeholders in question. As a contextual factor, macro-economic policy also operates together with other contextual and interpretive factors (e.g. attitudes and personalities), producing an environment for relationships that is characterised by fluidity and change. The dynamic of economics, internal finances and other influences such as pressure from environmental interests, are interacting very actively, resulting in both organisations changing the way that they relate to the outside world.

Two developments resulting from the influence of macro-economic policy are of particular significance to the relationship, and thence to the implementation of sustainable tourism in national parks. The first of these developments is the transformation of Canada's national tourism organisation from one that had a broad role and range of responsibilities, including the development of policy for sustainable tourism, to an organisation with a tight mandate to purely market Canada as a tourist destination. The loss of the policy role by the CTC has meant a narrowing of their relationship with Parks Canada, which has become defined within a marketing environment. "Real" policy interplay between the organisations, which existed

previously, and often resulted in a conflictual relationship, is now virtually non-existent. Most importantly, considering the significant role of the CTC as Canada's national tourism organisation, as long as the CTC does not have a mandate for sustainable tourism, the development of the policy domain concerning the issue of national parks and tourism will remain fraught with difficulty.

Recent initiatives on the part of Parks Canada creating an External Relations Branch (although there are suspicions that this is simply a marketing branch incognito) and the CTC releasing an albeit brief discussion document on sustainable tourism, provide shallow hope of a more strategic relationship between the two organisations.

The second major development is that fiscal policy has resulted in a greater emphasis on revenue earning by Parks Canada and on the formation of partnerships to achieve its goals. This has encouraged Parks Canada to seek the co-operation of the tourism sector, including the CTC, in marketing its 'product', the national parks. However, ironically, reduced funding has meant that Parks Canada does not have the resources to achieve full stakeholder legitimacy within the top CTC decision-making structure, and thus full control over the nature of their promotion. This is despite the fact that Parks Canada operates as 'gate keeper' to the largest chain of tourist attractions in Canada. The result is that resource scarcity for the parks agency has facilitated relations with the CTC, through which the parks agency envisage a relationship that will enable it to increase tourism-generated revenue.

In addition to these main influences, macro-economic policy can be seen to be acting in a number of 'micro' scale ways that serve to either inhibit or facilitate the relationship between the organisations. Reduced staffing along with structural changes are generally seen to reduce the opportunity for interorganisational relations, but conversely may have the opposite effect of driving the organisations (particularly Parks Canada) towards certain partnership arrangements, including those with the CTC. Changing mandates, staffing, structures and systems that have accompanied fiscally driven restructurings are seen to have a negative or inhibiting effect on the relationship. This is attributed to the lack of a firm base for developing programmes and partnerships, and the loss of 'institutional memory' or specific skills and knowledge that may facilitate certain relationships. This supports Selin and Chavez' (1994) finding that staff turnover serves as an inhibitor to relationships. Constant restructuring has also contributed to low staff morale in Parks Canada and the situation in some circumstances where the preoccupation with, and information concerning organisational and personal futures overwhelms what are seen as less important issues such as external relations.

Table 14.1 serves to illustrate some ways in which macro-scale influences are manifested within relationships through micro-scale (organisational and individual) means. Macro-scale influences such as monetarism, and the influence of the the ‘partnership paradigm’ and indeed the ‘sustainable development’ paradigm can be observed to influence mandates, policy, structures and the individual staff members working within them, variously serving to inhibit or facilitate relationships.

TABLE 14.1. Illustrations of how macro scale influences act through micro scale modes upon relationships

Macro scale factor	Micro scale Illustration	Relationship	Facilitator/inhibitor
Monetarism	Reduced budget for Parks Canada and new emphasis on tourism revenue	Parks Canada – CTC, TIAC	Facilitator
	Restructuring of Parks Canada and CTC – staff reductions	Parks Canada - CTC	Inhibitor
	Restructuring of Parks Canada and CTC – geographic disjunction	Parks Canada - CTC	Inhibitor
	Uncertainty for staff in Parks Canada	Parks Canada – other stakeholders	Inhibitor
	Loss of some policy roles for the NTO	CTC – Parks Canada	Inhibitor
Partnership paradigm	Role of Heritage Tourism Secretariat in promotional partnerships	Parks Canada - CTC	Facilitator
	Creation of External Relations Branch	Parks Canada – CTC, TIAC	Facilitator
	TIAC assuming responsibility for some NTO functions	TIAC - CTC	Facilitator
Sustainable development paradigm	Parks Canada Sustainable Development Strategy	Parks Canada – other stakeholders	Neither
	TIAC/NRTEE Code of Practice and Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism	TIAC – and other stakeholders	Neither
Enhanced conservation ethic	Improved policy for ecological integrity in parks	Parks Canada - ENGOs	Facilitator
	Improved policy for ecological integrity in parks	Parks Canada – CTC, TIAC	Inhibitor

14.5.5 Micro or interpretive factors in the relationship

The existence of other more traditional barriers to the relationship was reconfirmed through the study. These include a difference in values and professional backgrounds of staff between the two organisations, both impacting on the ability of organisations to communicate effectively. There is evidence, however, that the value difference is being actively addressed by Parks Canada, who are endeavouring to change organisational values and norms to make staff more receptive to the idea of marketing of parks for tourism, and thus parks as tourism products. Scale is an issue, as attitudes and values are significant at national, regional and local political levels, as well as at the level of the organisation and the individual employee. Divergent attitudes towards the role of tourism and of protected areas are evident from some research among stakeholders and are seen as a potential inhibitor to relations (e.g. Selin and Beason 1991).

As outlined above, other factors influencing the Parks Canada/CTC relationship include an historic climate of distrust that was also evident among staff (of both organisations), although to some extent this is becoming less of an issue, as the loss of 'institutional memory' referred to above, through staff attrition, progressively erases memory of conflictual incidents. Also, the role of leadership, particularly from the Parks Canada side is seen to be significant in brokering the relationship and fostering a positive appreciation within the organisation of the new relationship with the parks agency.

With respect to the continued lack of a coincidence of values between the two organisations, a key development has been that the Department of Canadian Heritage has adopted the approach of using a bridging organisation through which most contact between Parks Canada and the CTC is undertaken. Although it is not clear whether this was a conscious strategy, the result is that because the bridging organisation is external to Parks Canada (but within the same parent department) this allows Parks Canada to engage in the morally messy (and controversial for some staff) business of marketing its parks for tourism without getting its hands dirty. A crucial role of the Heritage Tourism Secretariat is to provide the semantic and philosophical connection between tourism and heritage: tourism in parks is implicitly part of the celebration of this aspect of Canada's heritage, and thus cannot be easily denied.

14.5.6 Implications for sustainable development

Clearly, the above findings have implications for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism within the national park context. The marketing involvement of national tourism

organisations is seen to be one of the key factors in influencing the environmental assets of a destination. This is particularly the case for sensitive areas, where a co-ordinated approach between area managers and tourism marketers may be crucial in the mitigation of tourism impacts.

The case study revealed, however, that broad contextual influences such as macro-economic policy manifest in a number of ways, and act to inhibit the development and maintenance of relations between the key stakeholders in this domain. The result is that the acknowledged extant inhibitors to co-ordination (e.g. values and attitudes (e.g. Selin and Beason 1991)) are exacerbated by these additional obstacles, thus ultimately posing further difficulties for the implementation of sustainable tourism within the domain.

14.6 Interest groups

Whilst the above analysis reveals historic changes in the positions of the two key stakeholders, the interest groups in this study comprising the ENGOs and the tourism industry lobby, have been more reliable in their positions. There is some evidence, however, that by adopting more extreme positions over this period, they have contributed to further destabilisation of the domain in terms of the gulf in values they have effectively served to maintain.

14.6.1 Environmental groups and their relationships

As outlined above from the 1960s, environmental groups have increasingly sought recognition and legitimacy within this domain. Legitimacy has not been granted readily, however, and this has impacted on the way that the environmental groups have related to other stakeholders and subsequently on the domain as a whole. From the early 1970s, the ENGOs have strongly influenced parks policy with respect to the place of tourism. And although the increasingly protectionist stance of the parks agency since the 1970s has been influenced by wider global shifts in attitudes towards the place of parks, the role of Canadian ENGOs should not be downplayed. This has impacted in particular upon the relationship between the parks agency and the tourism industry, as the parks agency now has a watchdog to monitor the previously neglected preservation side of their dual mandate.

ENGOs have constantly sought greater input and inclusion in the long term institutional arrangements for the management of national parks. However, due to a number of factors, which include an historic reluctance on the part of the parks agency to cater for ENGOs in this manner, stakeholder legitimacy in this respect has not been granted. Whilst the ENGOs are included in many institutional arrangements, generally the linkages with the parks agency

have suffered from a lack of stability over time. ENGOs seek a greater degree of formalisation, intensity and stability of these linkages.

In the absence of this inclusion, ENGOs have continued to seek policy ends from outside of the domain. Whilst the ENGOs could be described as traditional action-oriented or media-oriented groups (Pross 1975b), from the early 1990s ENGOs have increasingly sought solutions to what are seen as issues of inappropriate tourism development, through the legal system. This has in cases heightened tensions between the ENGOs and the parks agency, and also with the tourism industry and with TIAC.

Some aspects of the ENGO – parks agency relationship are especially significant. First, that the relationship is not static, and has developed from one primarily conflictual, to one where there is today a higher coincidence of values. The main influence here is the new ecological integrity mandate of the parks agency. However, much of the relationship as mentioned above is *ad hoc* and issue-based and through the absence of formality, particularly sensitive to perturbations. Thus, for example, issues such as Parks Canada's perceived renewal of interest in tourism marketing, or the creation of the Parks Canada Agency, have the potential to negate gains made in terms of mutual awareness and co-operation.

The second noteworthy aspect of the relationship is that because of the heterogeneous nature of the parks agency, it is difficult to define the relationship overall as being co-operative or conflictual. The study reveals that ENGOs have strong allies within the parks agency, particularly within the scientific group of staff, but that a lack of scientific representation at the management levels may inhibit this relationship at times. Thus at one level of the parks agency, ENGOs may have an established collaborative relationship, but at another level, the relationship may remain undeveloped.

Generally, though, the relationship is based upon exchange, whereby the ENGOs provide political support and 'protection' from extreme development interests, and receive in exchange, policy gains, and/or a degree of inclusion in policy formulation or implementation from the parks agency. The degree of exchange, however, is influenced by a number of inhibiting factors, primarily related to differences in values, but including more mundane factors such as the level of resources available to the ENGOs, who are small, volunteer-based organisations with large operating domains. The latter issue has been somewhat addressed by the ENGOs, in this scenario of mutual resource scarcity, adopting an increasingly collaborative approach, in terms of sharing knowledge and other resources with each other. In fact the relationship between the ENGOs was the best example of a co-operative relationship observed throughout this study.

In contrast, the relationship between ENGOs and the tourism lobby group TIAC is historically undeveloped, despite efforts on the latter's part to establish a dialogue. This disconnection is primarily due to a perception on the part of the ENGOs that the gap in values with respect to tourism in protected areas, is simply too great to bridge: thus the investment of scarce organisational resources is not warranted. It is interesting to note that historically, ENGOs have accused the two key stakeholders of conflict and lack of co-operation, with domain-wide consequences, yet the very same conflict is paralleled by the parks agency's and NTO's 'client groups', but perhaps on a more intense level. A lack of co-operative experiences (compared with conflicts) has led to a degree of mistrust between these groups. This is exacerbated by differing professional backgrounds, communication problems, personality issues and to an extent, the fact that the co-operative efforts of all interest groups are limited somewhat by their small size and budgets, and the changing priorities of their members.

14.6.2 The Tourism Industry Association of Canada and its relationships

Compared to the ENGOs' relationships with the parks agency, TIAC's relationship with Canada's NTO is more stable and formalised. This has been the case particularly since the inception of the CTC in 1995. Prior to that, the TIAC – Tourism Canada relationship was less collaborative, with TIAC at times being openly critical of the organisation, in terms of the perceived ineffectiveness of its national tourism marketing, and lack of representation of the small to medium sized enterprises of the Canadian tourism industry. These criticisms, in part, led to the formation of the CTC, with which TIAC has been closely involved since its inception.

Subsequently, there appears to be a high degree of mutuality in terms of the values held by members of both organisations, contributing to a relationship that is characterised by a high degree of exchange; TIAC provides a level of political support for the CTC, in exchange for inclusion in policy making arrangements of the CTC. There is a high degree of cross-over between the two organisations, with many TIAC members sitting on the Board and various committees of the CTC. Also, some of the previous NTO roles have been devolved to TIAC, with the narrowing of its mandate. In particular, some of the industry advocacy role previously played by Tourism Canada is now solely the preserve of TIAC. Additionally, a limited number of functional promotional roles have also been devolved.

In terms of the TIAC relationship with the parks agency, this has typically been of low intensity, but with periods when Parks Canada have come under fire from TIAC. The level of conflict has generally been low, however, as historically the tourism lobby group has achieved its tourism goals in national parks through access-oriented behaviour. Because of the high

level of political influence of the tourism industry, often their goals have been achieved through accessing and influencing key political or bureaucratic figures. This mode of action is recognised by some in the parks agency, and has not contributed to the development of relations there.

Although this avenue of access is still utilised, the degree of success that was enjoyed previously cannot be guaranteed today, due to factors such as the more ecologically protective legislation for national parks, and because of the vigilance of environmental interest groups. This change has been perfectly demonstrated through the example of the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force process (BBVTF 1996): this was a process that from its outcomes, appears to have been largely immune to the political manoeuvrings of the tourism industry and TIAC, much to its chagrin.

Although TIAC now has the primary tourism industry advocacy role, its relationship with the parks agency continues to lack in both intensity and formalisation. This situation is partly attributable to TIAC being a small organisation, with a host of tourism issues to address across a range of federal and provincial agencies – maintaining the parks relationship is not always an organisational priority. Also, TIAC as a policy advocate has not necessarily been granted the same legitimacy within the domain as is a federal organisation such as the CTC. However, the new External Relations Branch of Parks Canada considers the relationship with TIAC to be perhaps its second highest priority, after the CTC. This reflects Parks Canada's ambitions in terms of fostering a relationship with the tourism industry, as part of its overall goal of increasing tourism revenue from national parks.

14.7 Domain development and under-organisation

The traditional focus of interorganisational researchers has been on the process of organisation or domain development i.e. domains acquire a form that allows stakeholders to communicate, be legitimated and thus mutually seek solutions to problems (Gray 1985). Through an historic analysis of the national-park tourism domain in Canada, however, we observe the process occurring in reverse. If domain development can be defined as the process whereby domains form and become structured to the extent that issues may be resolved mutually, then what may be observed in the study domain could be described as a process whereby the domain has become less developed or underorganised.

Due primarily to the presence or absence of domain consensus, the protected area tourism domain has gone through a cycle from being unorganised to organised to underorganised. The domain initially became organised as both the parks agency (and its predecessors) and the tourism industry realised their mutual dependence. The tourism industry needed the parks to

attract the tourists, and the parks agency needed the tourism industry to bring the tourists and cater for their needs whilst at the parks. In fact at the very beginning, the parks agency (or at least the federal government) needed the tourism industry to develop, promote and *manage* the parks in many respects. This exchange-based relationship lasted through to the 1960s when management of parks and the place of tourism in parks was challenged by environmental concerns over the impacts of tourism.

Previously the domain had 'coped' with issues of tourism impact in parks through this simply not being recognised as a problem. This was helped by the smaller scale of tourism, but with the post WWII tourism boom, coupled with a greater environmental awareness, this now became an issue that had to be addressed by the domain. The new set of values brought to the domain by environmental interests seeking legitimacy, threatened the existing domain consensus. The influence of the environmental movement was so profound that incrementally, park tourism policy began to change, to become less tourism-friendly with a new emphasis on ecological integrity. This transformation has on occasion reached the point where *tourism interests* rather than environmental interests have struggled to maintain legitimacy within the domain. The period from the 1960s through to about 1995 has thus, in interorganisational relations terms, been characterised by a domain that has been challenged both by stakeholder legitimacy and by a lack of domain consensus – and could be said to be underorganised (Hardy 1994). The irony of this trend towards underorganisation is that it occurred simultaneously with the federal government's moves to foster internal and external co-ordination and communication on the part of its agencies, through the development of various institutional arrangements, such as interdepartmental committees and an enhanced role for central agencies. This throws into question the relevance or significance of such arrangements for facilitating relationships within domains that are recalcitrant in terms of divergent values or issues of stakeholder legitimacy.

14.7.1 Interest groups and the role of co-operation and conflict

The ability of a domain to provide co-ordinated solutions to mutual problems is related to the level of organisation of the domain, and undoubtedly within the study domain, a range of factors contribute to this. In terms of co-operation, the domain functions on a sporadic or ad-hoc basis – what has been described as the antithesis to planning (Hall 1991). However, the fact that the domain appears to be underorganised may not necessarily render it dysfunctional in terms of achieving sustainable outcomes. A criticism of IOR research is that it is too pro-co-ordination oriented. The assumption that much of this research makes is that co-ordination is the ultimate goal of all interorganisational relations, and that co-operation is preferable to conflict. Alternative means that organisations adopt to achieve goals, for example through a conflictual approach, are less well considered. On a domain level, therefore, co-ordination

may not necessarily favour a sustainable tourism outcome, and conflict may play a significant role.

Within the study domain, the environmental interest groups have historically adopted approaches ranging from co-operative to conflictual, depending upon the circumstances. It could be argued that a conflictual approach on the part of the ENGOs has been essential in terms of their meeting their objectives, and that without such an approach tourism impact in national parks would be subsequently be substantially greater than it is now. Thus, without conflict in the domain, the result would be a form of tourism in national parks that may be far 'less sustainable' than that currently practised.

The ENGOs have taken a number of approaches to achieving goals, outside of the traditional co-ordinated domain-centred process. The first is through their media and public action orientation. The second is through the legal process, for example, suing Parks Canada over their permitting inappropriate development in national parks. Neither action is co-operative or co-ordinated with other members of the domain, yet both have been successful in achieving ecological goals in parks. The value of such an approach is acknowledged by a segment of the Parks Canada staff, who feel that in the absence of the ENGOs, Parks Canada would be in a far weaker position in terms of being able to meet its preservation mandate. In a further approach, CPAWS attempts to directly access and influence key bureaucrats and political figures, including the Minister responsible for national parks. This has been the traditional approach of the tourism lobby, and has historically proven to be effective for that group. Yet this approach too, is not a 'collaborative' approach, but attempts to cut out other domain members through seeking preferential treatment. The final non-collaborative approach is withdrawal from the domain-centred process. CPAWS have demonstrated a willingness to withdraw their involvement in the domain when there have been indications that policy decisions would not be favourable to them: for example, threatening to not support the new Parks Canada Agency when it was indicated that there would be no stakeholder advisory council.

14.7.2 The value of conflict

The value of conflict also challenges the usefulness of the concepts of organised and unorganised domains, in that domains of either status may provide solutions to domain problems. Organised domains are more likely to provide collaborative solutions, but these may involve such a degree of compromise that these solutions would be unacceptable to some stakeholders and may not have long-term viability. This has been the case for the ENGOs, who have historically refused to enter into dialogue with the tourism lobby (at least in any formalised way) as they believe that because of the differences in values, that the level of

compromise with this group would be too great: thus they continue to maintain the option of operating outside of the constraints of co-operative relationships.

ENGOS' motivation for engaging in conflictual activities may not always be altruistic. Indeed, ENGOS require a high media profile (which may be generated by conflict) to maintain and build membership. Thus conflictual actions are partly motivated by their internal organisational requirements. But whatever their motives, ENGOS are generally not in the 'business of compromise', and this is the reason that they also reject the concept of sustainable tourism. That ENGOS act outside of the domain is not to deny that they have also tried to achieve greater legitimacy and participation within the formalised or 'co-ordinated' structure of the domain. But, as outlined above, this has been granted only on an ad-hoc basis.

14.7.3 Alternatives to conflict and co-operation

The tourism lobby group TIAC too has historically chosen to operate outside or on the periphery of the domain. Although this is an area where the intangible nature of the 'domain' begins to cause problems – as TIAC accesses Ministers and politicians who are part of a broader policy domain. Traditionally, TIAC has been a very access-oriented interest group, and to achieve its goals with respect to national park tourism, has usually sought access to higher political levels, rather than co-ordinating directly with the parks agency. This mode of action too, is motivated by the perception that dealing with the parks agency on a more formal, structured basis may result in a level of compromise that would be unacceptable to tourism interests. In this case, the access-oriented approach of TIAC has also assisted them to achieve what they consider to be a more sustainable tourism in parks – but obviously a totally different *kind* of sustainable tourism to that envisaged by the ENGOS. In terms of TIAC impacting on a more objectively defined ecologically sustainable tourism through their out-of-domain actions, their ability to do this has been quelled somewhat by the policy environment for parks which has become increasingly more protective of ecological integrity.

14.7.4 Outcomes from a new period of commodification?

Having said that, the study reveals that parks may, due to federal macro-economic pressures on park funding, be entering into a period of new commodification. Recent trends discussed above, in terms of federal economic policy have again provided a set of conditions that will serve to rekindle and recreate the former reciprocal relationship that prevailed between the parks agency and the tourism industry – in particular with the NTO. In many ways this relationship will assume again the form that it had from the time of the first Canadian national park – albeit amidst a greatly changed social and environmental context. This relationship is

based on exchange, where the parks agency offers the national parks as a marketing resource or destination for the NTO. The parks agency receives income from increased park tourism, and thus continues to survive in the harsh realities of the market-lead economy; and the NTO achieves a higher performance as measured by various international and domestic tourism indicators, and thus pleases its masters, the federal government and the industry-lead Board of Directors.

As previously was the case, the relationship is not complicated by policy interaction, rather the relationship is based simply on the marketing of parks. This has come about through changes in both organisations: the renewed focus of the CTC on marketing alone (and the loss or abeyance of its policy advocacy roles), along with a renewed focus of the parks agency on tourism revenue and marketing of national parks. Although the 'new' relationship between the parks agency and the NTO is collaborative and conflict-free, the previous policy conflict that existed between Parks Canada and Tourism Canada could be said to be partly constructive, in that at the very least, policy positions were debated, made clear and brought into a more open arena where other stakeholders could contribute to the debate. The removal of policy interaction mitigates against both conflict and informed planning debates within the domain.

The current relationship takes place in a totally changed social and environmental context. Its simplicity belies the complexity of the situation and ultimately may lead to considerable costs. The earlier context for the exchange was characterised by a small tourism industry, low numbers of tourists, and less impact. Also the national park resource was undervalued in terms of its ecological importance, and although recent state legislation addresses this by stressing environmental values, fiscal policy forces the parks agency into an inequitable relationship, resembling more that of resource dependence than exchange. The perpetuation of this situation of resource dependence will ultimately ice the path to realising the environmental imperatives envisaged in policy and legislation.

The current relationship is only complicated by the role of the ENGOs, who have already expressed unease at the marketing initiatives that Parks Canada has taken. In terms of sustainable tourism development, these changes will not contribute to its operationalisation, as long as economic imperatives are paramount. And for a group that struggles in terms of resourcing and legitimation within the domain, the role of non-co-operative modes of action is seen as essential in the continued drive towards sustainable tourism in Canada's national parks.

14.8 Relationship summary

In addressing the role of co-operation in the operationalisation of sustainable tourism, this study has described the nature of the interorganisational relationships between stakeholders involved in national park tourism in Canada. With respect to the key stakeholders, the parks agency and the national tourism organisation, the study revealed a relationship that has changed substantially over time, due to the changing social, economic and political contexts within which the relationship is manifested.

The relationship has gone through a stage of co-operation, and then partial conflict, and has progressed again towards co-operation. For the first 50 years of national parks in Canada, the federal government and then more specifically the parks agency established a close relationship with the tourism industry, on which they relied to supply their clients, and thus to build popular and financial support for the parks cause. Parks at the time were not established for their ecological values alone, and were required to prove their utility or value by recouping the public coffers. Thus, initially this relationship was established through the motivation of resource scarcity on the part of the parks agency: scarce funding and scarce tourists. Establishing a parks constituency was seen as essential for the protection of the parks and for the future of the parks agency.

From the 1930s the parks agency enlisted the marketing skills and services of the NTO to further increase its visitor base, but now more in terms of guaranteeing the longevity and growth of the parks system itself, as the future of the parks agency was more secure by this stage. The relationship was changing from one based initially on resource dependence towards one with a greater degree of voluntary action, whereby both the parks agency and the NTO recognised the value of exchange. This exchange-based relationship persisted through to the 1960s, and was fostered by shared notions of the role of national parks and the place of tourism within parks, and little concern for the impacts of tourism. From the 1960s, when greater political participation, environmental awareness and high tourist numbers forced changes upon the ways that national parks were to be managed, consensus between the organisations on the role of tourism in national parks was lost, resulting in the organisations adopting positions of opposition.

This period of change, foisted on the parks agency to a large degree by environmental interests, was accompanied by an enlarged role of industry development for the NTO, which served to heighten policy tension between the two organisations. And also, by this stage the previous business-based marketing relationship had broken down with much park promotion undertaken in-house. Over the period from the mid 1970s to the mid 1990s, the relationship between the organisations waxed and waned, reaching a period of intensity brought on by

another period of interest in marketing of parks, during the late 1980s. But often the period was characterised by policy 'warfare', centring on the accessibility or inaccessibility of national parks for tourism development.

However, policy conflict came to an end in 1995 when the Canadian Tourism Commission was created, under private-public governance and with a revised mandate that omitted or allowed an abeyance of the NTO's advocacy role, with a focus solely upon marketing. This development coincided with an increased drive by Parks Canada for tourism sourced revenue, and has facilitated the establishment of a formalised and intense relationship between the two organisations, but based only upon the marketing of parks. In this sense, the relationship is similar to the initial parks agency-NTO relationship of early last century. This time, the resource-dependence of the parks agency results from federal macro-economic policies, manifested in the retreat of the state, that have forced Parks Canada to seek more stable visitor-based sources of funding, in lieu of decreasing and unstable federal appropriations.

However, this relationship now occurs in a period where the impacts of tourism *are* a concern, especially for the 'new' environmental interests now active within the domain. There are concerns about the ability of the parks agency to mitigate against the ramifications of a greater degree of tourism marketing of parks. Presently there appears to be no policy interaction between the parks agency and the NTO about the potential impacts of this course of action. Consequently the lack of policy interaction, of even overt policy conflict, is seen as a potential inhibitor to the operationalisation of a sustainable form of tourism within the national parks. Even during the most intense periods of conflict between the parks agency and the NTO, the issue of tourism impacts was at least openly debated between the agencies and within the domain as whole.

The extent of this conflict between the parks agency and the NTO was at times so overt that it was a concern of other stakeholders within the domain, who were disillusioned by the lack of co-operation between these two federal organisations. However, the other stakeholders themselves were similarly involved in a characteristically non-co-operative relationship. Despite attempts on the part of the tourism industry group TIAC to establish closer relations with the environmental groups, the gulf between the values of these groups has proved too great to bridge. This was the case in the 1970s and appears to still be the case at the time of study.

The study has also addressed the interest groups' relationships with the key stakeholders. The ENGOs relationship with the parks agency is complex, with an element of exchange. The ENGOs seek legitimation from the parks agency in terms of inclusion in institutional arrangements for park policy formulation, and in return, by publicly advocating an extreme

protectionist position, provide a certain amount of 'protection' for the agency, from tourist development interests. In terms of inhibitors to the relationship, a perceived lack of commitment to ecological integrity on the part of the parks agency is seen as significant, along with the longstanding issue of stakeholder legitimacy, whereby the ENGOs seek a grater intensity and formalisation of linkages.

In redressing these issues, the ENGOs have also adopted 'out-of-domain' or conflictual approaches, in addition to traditional round table approaches. The former approaches are typically media-oriented, but increasingly litigious, often implemented in collaboration with other environmental interest groups. This type of action is seen to be important in this domain because of the ENGOs' limited inclusion and influence in traditional policy making institutional arrangements, and in light of federal macro-economic policies that have lead the parks agency to recently embark on greater promotion of parks for tourism.

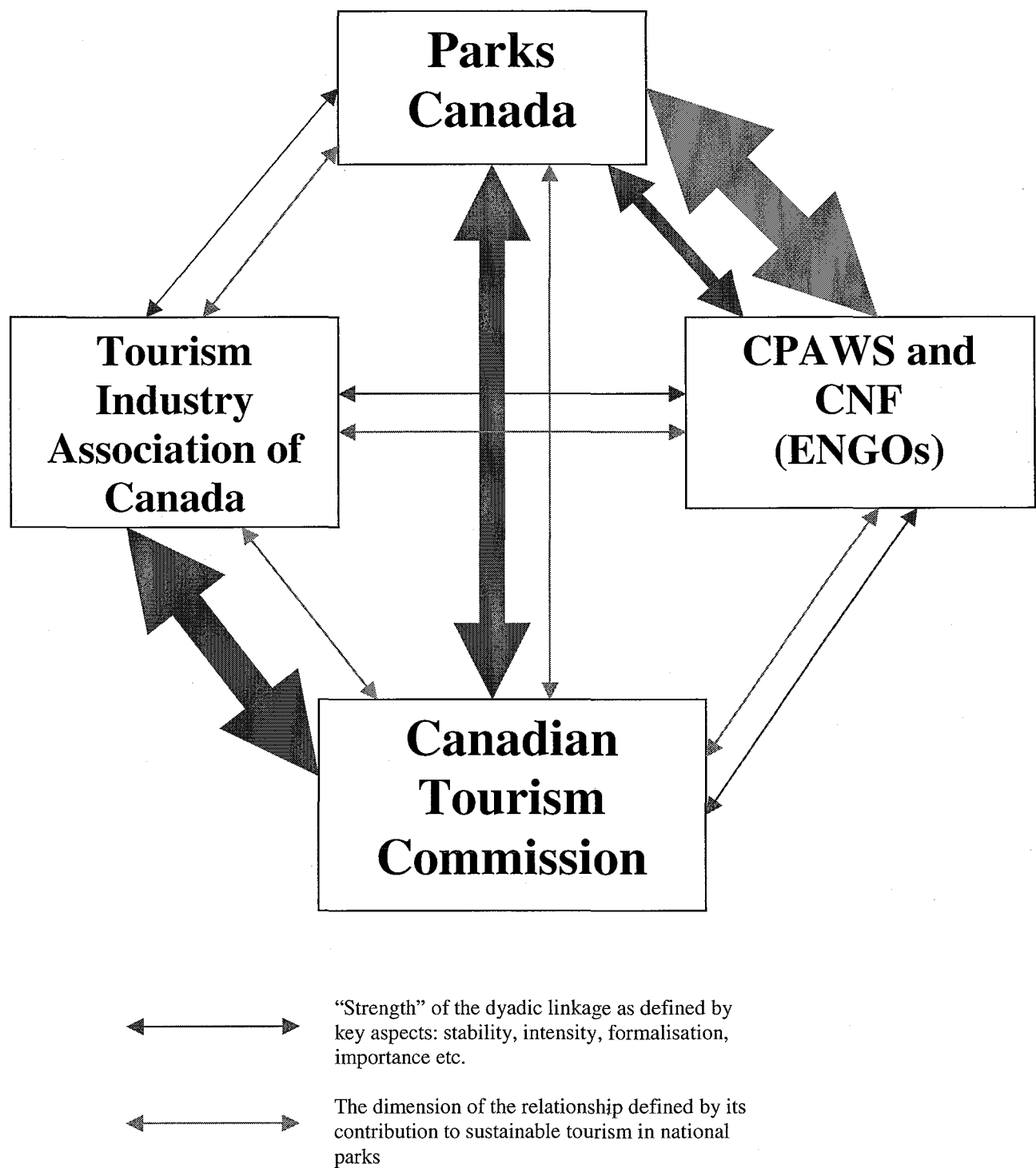
The tourism lobby group TIAC's relationship with the parks agency has remained less developed, as TIAC traditionally adopted non-collaborative means of achieving policy goals, through accessing higher political levels. This avenue, while still available through the high political profile that tourism currently enjoys in the federal government, is less effective today because of a more transparent policy process and due to the increasingly protectionist legislative and policy environment. TIAC however, retains a highly structured and intense relationship with the Canadian Tourism Commission, which will help to ensure that the power of the tourism industry within the domain remains unabated.

In terms of across-domain relationships, the study reconfirmed previous research indicating that key inhibitors to relationships are still primarily differences in institutional values and ideologies, and the linked attitudes and behaviour of individuals within organisations. However, by adopting an historic approach and a macro scale, the study demonstrated the significant role of contextual influences – political, social and economic, on relationships within the domain. The recent influence of federal macro-economic policy in particular has been highly influential in both facilitating and inhibiting relationships. Not only does this policy act through the obvious ways such as reduced funding for organisations, but also through the environment of change it generates, resulting, for example in unstable platforms for relationships. The study revealed, however, that this macro policy is also manifested in a number of less obvious 'micro' or interpretive ways - for example in changing participants' foci from an organisational and external focus to an individual and internal focus – with implications for interorganisational relationships.

In conclusion, there appears little evidence from this case study, of widespread active co-operation or collaboration within the domain across all stakeholders. Neither is there is a clear

unanimous adherence to or commonly accepted meaning of the concept of sustainable tourism. The co-operation that does exist is sporadic (e.g. parks agency and ENGOs) or focused upon narrow interpretations of sustainable tourism, that is, sustainable tourism as defined by economic indicators. Alongside this uneven co-operation is evidence of conflictual relationships and it is apparent that these conflictual relations are addressing the issue of sustainability. Figure 14.1 illustrates that the strength of individual dyadic linkages between members of this policy domain, at the time of study, as defined by traditional attributes such as formalisation, standardisation and reciprocity (Whetten 1982).

FIG 14.1 Representation of key dyadic linkages between stakeholders



The figure also provides a judgement of the extent to which each relationship contributes to sustainable tourism in Canada's national parks. Despite limitations to the diagram in terms of its static nature, its significance is to demonstrate that traditional measures of linkages are by no means adequate indicators of that relationship's ability to achieve certain collaborative outcomes i.e. contribute to co-ordinated planning for sustainable tourism in Canada's national parks. This is illustrated by the Parks Canada – CTC relationship, which although reasonably strong in terms of traditional measures of co-operation, contributes little to the above outcomes. In contrast, the comparatively under-developed Parks Canada- ENGO relationship makes potentially the greatest contribution to sustainable park tourism.

14.9 Contribution to knowledge

This study has contributed on a number of fronts. Firstly, it has provided a detailed account of the historic and contemporary nature of relations between key national park – tourism stakeholders in Canada, at the federal level. Secondly, it has contributed to the literature on collaboration - primarily by providing a case study application of an interorganisational framework, it has allowed further empirical testing and tempering of this body of theory within a new environment. In particular, this study addresses the issue of domain development. Using Hardy's (1994) model of underorganisation or partial organisation as a starting point, the study expands upon Hardy's model of underorganisation by examining both the reasons and conditions for relationship formation, and a range of facilitating and inhibiting factors acting upon the relationships, and thus the domain. Hardy's model of underorganisation is both confirmed and expanded. Whereas Hardy only considers domain consensus and stakeholder legitimacy as factors contributing to domain underorganisation, this study reveals a range of further influencing factors, including inadequate resourcing, limited mandates, and the role of restructuring, among others.

Moreover, the study addresses the pro-co-ordination criticism of IOR research (e.g. Whetten 1982), by considering the role of conflict within the underorganised domain. By examining the role of interest groups in this study, groups who choose 'out-of-domain' modes of action that fall beyond the normal bounds of what is considered to be 'collaborative' behaviour, this study reveals the significance of non-co-operative modes of action for certain groups whose legitimacy within the domain is challenged. Thus the study questions the role of collaboration and identifies the beneficial role of conflict for sustainable tourism outcomes within a protected area setting.

Importantly, the study also addresses criticism of IOR research in that it fails to consider multiple levels of analysis (Whetten 1982; Hardy 1994). Through the adoption of a multi-

dimensional research framework, the study allows the concurrent consideration of multiple levels of influence upon the relationships within the study domain. The study exposes not only the personal factors involved in shaping relationships, but also the organisational level, and larger macro scale influences, and indeed their inter-relationships. Of specific interest is the way in which the influence of macro-economic policy is channelled through organisational and personal levels. Thus the study successfully links the contextual and interpretive variables (Halpert 1982) acting upon relationships. Similarly, the study responds to criticism that much IOR research is generally ahistorical in its approach (Whetten 1982). By considering the historic development of relations within the domain, this study reveals a pattern of relationship formation contingent upon a number of key factors. This study also revealed the effect of relationship 'baggage' on contemporary relations. Thus, the study adds to the limited and valuable work undertaken in the tourism field (e.g. Jenkins 1993; Jenkins 2000) that considers both multiple levels of influence and the legacy of the past, on current stakeholder dynamics.

The third major way that this study contributes is to the debate on sustainable tourism, and in particular within a protected area setting. This study contributes to the small but growing field of IOR research within the tourism sector. To date, most studies have focused on community partnerships or efforts in collaboration, or marketing alliances, mainly at the local or regional level, and with limited research undertaken on relations between protected area managers, tourism organisations, and interest groups at a national level. A limited number of studies have addressed individual protected areas rather than system-wide settings. Most importantly, the study contributes on an operational level to our practical knowledge of the obstacles and opportunities for co-ordinated planning (and ultimately for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism development) within a protected area context. This study contributes to our understanding of the nature of relationships between protected area managers, tourism advocacy organisations and interest groups. It thus adds to what is seen as a limited body of research on tourism organisations and their relationships. The nature of the IOR between the above organisations is documented and described at the national level and the various facilitators and inhibitors of IOR are investigated, within a broad social, political and economic context.

Furthermore, the study advances our understanding of both the meaning and operationalisation of sustainable tourism development. Whilst 'sustainability' is now part of the '*lingua franca*', it is a problematic notion that is interpreted in a number of ways by a number of stakeholders. Significantly, the study indicated that the notion of sustainability was of limited value in terms of it being an organising concept for the domain. The research framework adopted for this study, with its contextual focus also allowed consideration to be given to the neglected link between the debates on sustainability and those on the wider political economy (Williams and

Shaw 1998). The study illustrated how global or national initiatives for sustainability have been moderated by macro-scale influences of a different nature, including the forces of globalisation and neo-liberal economics; and consequently how these have limited the application of sustainable tourism on a local basis.

14.10 Limitations and possible future research

The Achilles heel of interorganisational research is the issue of reciprocity – that is, different organisations offering differing accounts of current and past relationships. While reciprocity errors may arise unintentionally, through a lack of information, they may also arise through the intentions of participants to apply ‘spin’ to the way that relationships are viewed and reported.

In this study, specific tactics were adopted to overcome potential problems in ‘measuring’ relationships. The research framework adopted in this thesis supported a multi-levelled approach utilising a range of sources: interviews with key informants; interviews with associates; policy analysis; and archival research. Document analysis is the primary means of corroborating participants’ accounts of relationships.

However, there are difficulties in ‘mining’ the same level of detail about past interorganisational relationships, compared with what is revealed about current relationships. This is due on occasion to the paucity of records concerning past relationships, but mainly to the lack of living (or *accessible* living) participants who were involved at the interface of those relationships. Thus the details of relationships become increasingly hard to depict as we go back in history.

This research also encountered the second type of reciprocity error – where some participants appear to have the need to place a positive face on relationships, perhaps as a part of organisational image control efforts, and in order not to jeopardise future relations. Generally, but not always, these discrepancies were revealed through the use of multiple participants, plus document analysis. However, the situation is admittedly more serious with the smaller stakeholders, whose documentation of relationships is less rigorous, and where the research must rely upon single key informants, as was the case for one organisation (TIAC) in this study. A further limitation is that some potentially valuable participants were inaccessible to the researcher - having been placed ‘off-limits’ by the study organisations: this shortcoming was largely addressed by the approaches outlined above.

In terms of the theoretical approach, an interorganisational relations approach worked well for this study, and was flexible enough to incorporate a diversity of material from a range of

sources. A weakness of this study is the limited number of stakeholders included – a choice made on the grounds of initial research into the Canadian national parks policy domain, but also influenced simply by issues of resourcing and the potentially unmanageable scale of the final project. Ultimately this research should include a broader range of stakeholders, but such a step would possibly require an extension of the theoretical framework to include a network analysis approach, a means of more readily managing the resultant larger number of dyadic relationships.

This study has focused on a small selection of stakeholders within the national-park tourism domain, and as discussed above, the selection was necessarily small because of the practicalities and resourcing requirements of undertaking a larger study. As outlined at the outset, there are a number of other less important, nevertheless significant stakeholders who have become active within the domain. A possible extension of this study is to broaden it to include further stakeholders, and in particular, the role of indigenous Canadians is seen as being increasingly important. Adopting an interorganisational relations framework, the development of the relationship between indigenous stakeholders and the other key stakeholders, the parks agency, the tourism industry and environmental groups would be examined, with facilitating and inhibiting factors identified. The latter interaction between environmental groups and indigenous peoples would be particularly interesting, because of their non-traditional modes of action, and also as the former is said to be usurping the place of the latter as the dominant player in national park policy debates (Dearden and Berg 1993).

Although this study has purposely adopted a macro-scale approach to relationships, and has noted the limitations of micro-scale or local studies, these studies are potentially valuable to form a complete picture of interorganisational relations within the protected area – tourism domain. Ideally a study of interactions at the federal level should be accompanied by an examination of how national policies are interpreted and impact upon relations at the provincial, regional and local levels. This would assist in both an applied way, and also at the theoretical level in addressing concerns about the lack of contextualisation in interorganisational relations research. Furthermore, this study could be replicated in a different political/economic/social system to provide a cross-national comparative body of research. This would help address the call for greater use of the comparative approach in the tourism field, and provide insight into the ways that organisations operate and relate through the exploration of parallel organisations elsewhere.

A key aspect of this research concerned the dynamic nature of relationships – the interorganisational relationships reported on in this thesis refer only to those occurring within the domain up to and during the time of study. Since that time, considerable changes have

occurred within the domain: for example the Parks Canada Agency has been created, the CTC has evolved too, becoming a Crown corporation, TIAC has a new President, new legal battles have been won and lost by the ENGOs, and there has been a federal election. Such changes are potentially significant and support a longitudinal approach to IOR research, indicating the value of repeating this study in the not-too-distant future.

And finally, on a mainly theoretical note, future work should explore the link between the 'partially industrialised' (Leiper 1990) nature of the tourism sector and the 'partially organised' (Hardy 1994) nature of its policy domains. To what extent are the issues of domain organisation linked with the partial industrialisation of the sector? Again, by adopting a comparative approach with 'fully industrialised' sectors, specific features may be highlighted allowing a better understanding of the processes of sector-wide co-ordination.

14.11 Conclusion

The point of departure of the study was that collaborative IORs are of value to the implementation of sustainable tourism development (e.g. Inskeep 1991; WTTC 1995; Robson and Robson 1996). Hence the obstacles and opportunities for interorganisational relations may also act as obstacles and opportunities for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism.

The study revealed a number of significant findings. Key inhibitors to relationships within the study domain were primarily related to differences in institutional values and ideologies, and the linked attitudes and behaviour of individuals within organisations. The study also demonstrated the significant role of contextual influences – political, social and economic – on relationships within the domain. The recent influence of federal macro-economic policy in particular has been highly influential in both facilitating and inhibiting relationships. Not only does this policy act through the obvious ways such as reduced funding for some federal organisations, but also through the environment of change it generates for organisations, resulting in unstable platforms for relationships. Furthermore, such macro-level policy is manifested in a number of less obvious 'micro' ways – for example in changing participants' foci from an organisational and external focus to an individual and internal focus – and also changing the way that participants interact with other organisations.

Recently, in response to these macro-economic concerns, co-operation has been advocated by the state; motivated by fiscal concerns – not by the concept or ideology of sustainable development. It is unfortunate that the fiscal retreat in terms of the funding of national parks that has motivated these new partnerships has occurred at the same time as the drive for sustainable development. As a consequence, those within the domain concerned with protecting the natural values of parks are sceptical about the notions of both sustainability and

co-operation. This has created an atmosphere where 'co-operation for sustainable development' spells compromise to those charged with maintaining the ecological integrity of national parks, as it does to the environmental interest groups with an advocacy role in this area.

The historic and contemporary role of such interest groups was found to be an important aspect of this domain. In particular the extent to which environmental groups have coped with issues of resource poverty and lack of stakeholder legitimacy by adopting 'out-of-domain' approaches is significant. While co-ordinated policy making is widely accepted as a basis for environmentally sustainable tourism development, organisations may contribute more towards this goal by choosing not to be included, or by being excluded from, this framework of co-ordination. Thus, traditional measures of linkages are by no means adequate indicators of a relationship's ability to contribute to certain collaborative outcomes such as the operationalisation of sustainable tourism. This is illustrated within the study domain where the comparatively under-developed Parks Canada - ENGO relationship, with an intrinsic degree of interorganisational conflict, makes potentially the greatest contribution to sustainable park tourism.

Thus, in contrast to calls for co-operation, collaboration and co-ordination as means of operationalising sustainable tourism, within this domain, this study has demonstrated that conflict has an extremely important role to play. And while conflict alone will probably not lead to the operationalisation of sustainable tourism development, this study clearly indicates that without conflict in this domain at this point of time, the environmental issues connected to ecological preservation would not be adequately addressed: thus a fundamental aspect of sustainable development would not be realised.

Ultimately, the operationalisation of sustainable tourism in Canada's national parks and in other protected area systems around the world is hamstrung by a range of organisational barriers. Without adequate central leadership, and commitment to a commonly accepted set of principles for sustainable tourism by key stakeholders (including NTOs) it is unlikely that system-wide consensus on the role of tourism within protected areas will be possible. Collaborative interorganisational relations can potentially contribute to the achievement of some consensus on sustainable tourism, but ironically, there needs to be some common understanding of the meaning of sustainable tourism before such collaboration can materialise. Until this time, painstaking, case by case, season by season negotiation of tourism interests in protected areas will continue to be the norm.

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Appendix I: Interview Schedule

Interview	Location	Taped	Date	Length
Parks Canada 1	Ottawa	Yes	27/10/97	1:20
Parks Canada 2	Ottawa	Yes	27/10/97	1:35
Parks Canada 3	Ottawa	Yes	28/10/97	0:45
Parks Canada 4	Ottawa	Yes	29/10/97	1:50
Parks Canada 5	Ottawa	Yes	28/10/97	0:35
Parks Canada 6	Ottawa	Yes	28/10/97	1:10
Parks Canada 7	Vancouver	Yes	6/11/97	2:05
Parks Canada 8	Telephone	No	23/11/97	0:55
Parks Canada 9	Telephone	No	24/11/97	0:30
Canadian Tourism Commission 1	Ottawa	Yes	30/10/97	0:45
Canadian Tourism Commission 2	Telephone	No	21/11/97	0:40
Canadian Tourism Commission 3	Ottawa	Yes	30/10/97	1:30
Canadian Tourism Commission 4	Ottawa	Yes	30/10/97	1:55
Canadian Tourism Commission 5	Ottawa	Yes	30/10/97	0:30
Canadian Tourism Commission 6	Ottawa	Yes	30/10/97	0:30
Canadian Tourism Commission 7	Telephone	No	21/11/97	0:40
Environmental NGO 1	Ottawa	Yes	30/10/97	0:50
Environmental NGO 2	Ottawa	Yes	31/10/97	2:30
Environmental NGO 3	Telephone	No	20/11/97	1:00
Tourism Industry Association 1	Ottawa	Yes	29/10/97	1:45
Associate 1	Ottawa	Yes	29/10/97	2:00
Associate 2	Ottawa	Yes	29/10/97	2:00
Associate 3	Vancouver	Yes	20/11/97	1:15

Appendix II: Interview Guide

The following questions were raised during the interview process. As the interviews were semi-structured, this is a *guide* only: the questions were not necessarily addressed in the order shown below. Many questions were not asked directly but were addressed through general discussion with interviewees and in the process of their answering other questions.

SECTION 1: General questions for all interviewees

- 1. Introduce the study**
 - Purpose of study
 - Use of data
 - Confidentiality & anonymity
- 2. Ascertain role/position of interviewee**
 - How long in position?
 - Previous positions and organisations worked for
 - Reporting to?
 - User of national parks?
- 3. Work / involvement with sustainable tourism initiatives**
- 4. Initiatives re sustainable tourism that not involved with but aware of**
 - Own organisation
 - Other organisations
- 5. Describe your view of your organisation's role in sustainable tourism**
- 6. What is your personal conception of sustainable tourism?**
 - Prompt if necessary e.g. weak/strong
- 7. Interorganisational relations**
 - Introduce concepts of IOR and co-ordination for sustainable tourism
 - Note views of academics re lack of co-ordination in tourism and protected area management
 - Views on this – agree/disagree why/whynot?
- 8. Relationships with other orgns – that interviewee is aware of**
 - List and describe nature of each
- 9. Personal involvement of interviewee in these relationships**
 - Describe, give examples of interactions
- 10. Obstacles and Opportunities to relationships**
 - Interviewee to outline and enlarge upon these, unprompted
- 11. Use list to prompt interviewees re Q 11 if necessary**
 - Use list (fig 3.4) to prompt
 - Ask interviewees to rank factors for relationships that they have been personally involved in for their organisation
- 12. Interviewees awareness of changes to relations**
 - Have relationships with study organisations changed over time
 - Why/why not?
- 13. How do you perceive role of other organisations in the study?**
- 14. What should be the federal government's role in co-ordinating sustainable tourism?**
 - What initiatives are you aware of nationally?
 - How do you perceive these as working in practice?

SECTION 2: Questions for Parks Canada interviewees

1. **Aware of work undertaken on impact of visitors in Canadian national parks?**
 - ENGO criticism of ecological knowledge in organisation and planning
2. **Explain the role of Parks Canada in marketing their product for tourism**
 - To what extent is this done and how?
 - Agree or disagree and why?
 - Prompt with Auditor General's comments re risk to ecological integrity
3. **What are Parks Canada's plans w.r.t increasing visitation**
 - Prompt with marketing reports known
 - Comments – agree/disagree, why?
 - Process of marketing – is there a public consultative phase? Involvement of other study organisations
4. **Visitor management processes in national parks**
 - Comments on consultative processes?
 - Involvement of other study organisations?
5. **Organisational mandate – does it describe/define the role of Parks Canada adequately re tourism?**
6. **Creation of Parks Canada as a Special Operating Agency**
 - Effect on relationships with study organisations
 - Effect on policy re tourism
 - Resourcing issues
 - Link to general restructuring history of Parks Canada – what effect has this had on relationships?
7. **Sustainable Development Strategy**
 - Consultative process – involvement of study organisations
 - Internal process – input re tourism and parks
8. **Significance of new decentralised structure**
9. **Involvement in TIAC guidelines of sustainable tourism?**
 - Aware of guidelines
 - Parks Canada involvement?
10. **Canadian Parks Partnership**
 - Involvement of study organisations?
11. **Political influence on decisions regarding park use**
 - Prompt re \$139 solution
 - Impact on relationships with tourism interests
12. **Organisation culture regarding visitor numbers?**
 - To what extent is there internal agreement regarding tourism strategy?
13. **ENGO criticism**
 - To what extent does ENGO public criticism impact upon relations?
 - What about the recent ENGO litigation?

SECTION 3: Questions for Canadian Tourism Commission interviewees

1. **What is role of national parks in overall national marketing strategy?**
2. **Do you perceive that CTC marketing of national parks could have negative environmental consequences?**
 - To what extent are potential impacts monitored by the CTC (e.g. as they are in Norway, also cite academics e.g. Baum)?
 - Prompt with Auditor General Report re visitor impacts
 - Prompt with previous Tourism Canada calls for more tourism in national parks (and also Buchanan's report)
3. **Describe decision-making processes in formulating marketing policy**
 - What was the consultation process?

- Involvement of study organisations?
- 4. **CTC input to Departmental Sustainable Development Strategy**
 - Awareness of Departmental SDS?
 - Personal/departmental input?
 - Links with various marketing strategies?
- 5. **CTC contribution to sustainable tourism?**
 - Specific personnel assigned this role – why not?
 - Prompt with previous Tourism Canada role in this respect
 - Should the CTC have a broader mandate in this area?
- 6. **Canadian Parks Partnership – involvement?**
- 7. **Would the CTC consider being involved in “demarketing” of some national parks?**
- 8. **What support is provided to TIAC?**
 - As outlined in Buchanan’s report
 - Involvement with Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism?

SECTION 4: Questions for ENGO interviewees

1. **How influential do you think pressure groups are in general in Canada?**
 - Prompt with previous work e.g. Pross
 - ENGOs in particular
2. **What are the strengths and weaknesses of your organisation re your ability to influence government decisions?**
 - Do they receive government funding – and if so, what effect has this had?
3. **What is your degree of satisfaction with the national parks planning process?**
 - How do you feel about current Parks Canada marketing activities re tourism in national parks?
 - To what extent do you focus upon federal issues compared to regional, or site-specific issues?
 - What impact do you think that the failure to establish an independent guiding “board” for the Parks Canada Agency will have on relations?
4. **How do you perceive your ability to “compete” against other professional interest groups such as TIAC?**
 - At what levels do you focus your resources re building relationships with Parks Canada?
 - How important is the development of political connections (as it has been for tourism interests) – examples?
5. **Do you consider that the Canadian tourism industry has adopted the principles of sustainable tourism (re national parks)?**
 - Is this genuine in your opinion?– explain
 - Are you aware of the TIAC Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism?
 - Did you have input into this document?
 - How useful do you think that it may be?
6. **Do you consider that there is a likelihood of an alliance between ENGOs and tourism industry interests?**
 - Prompt: previous call by TIAC to form an alliance
7. **Do you agree that Parks Canada has used the blanket of “co-operation” to get ENGOs onside and prevent ENGO protest?**
 - How genuine is Parks Canada in their desire to co-operate?
 - Prompt: internal comments on this by Peepre
8. **Do you think that the creation of a Parks Canada Agency will impact upon relations?**

SECTION 4: Questions for TIAC interviewees

1. **What has been the impact of the creation of the CTC on the TIAC role?**
2. **Has TIAC adopted many of the “discarded” policy roles of Tourism Canada?**
3. **Does this include responsibility for sustainable tourism policy?**
 - What do you perceive to be the ramifications of the loss of the sustainable tourism policy role in the NTO?
4. **What was the impetus for developing the Guidelines on Sustainable Tourism?**
 - Were the other study organisations involved in the preparation of this document?
5. **What is/are the main role(s) of national parks?**
6. **Do you consider that increasing tourism in national parks may have negative environmental consequences ?**
 - Why was there no consideration given to the potential impacts of marketing within the Guidelines?
 - Prompt: IIPT 1994 conference advocated environmentally responsible promotion of a region's attractions
 - Although ecotourism has been advocated by TIAC and other tourism organisations, some commentators (e.g. IISD) suggest it is the most damaging form of tourism – comments?
7. **Does TIAC have input into national park policy/planning?**
 - Prompt: recent Parks Canada policy initiatives that have focused on ecological integrity at the ‘expense’ of tourism
 - How do you characterise your relations with Parks Canada overall?
8. **Does TIAC have input into CTC policy development – how?**
9. **At what level(s) does TIAC focus its lobbying efforts?**
10. **Do you consider an alliance with ENGOs a possibility?**
 - Prompt: previous call by TIAC Chair to form alliance